Daily Report

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Isai Speaks at Peshkopi Liberation Rally

AU2808194489 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 27 Aug 89

[Report on speech delivered by Hekuran Isai, Albanian Workers Party Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, at a rally in Peshkopi on the 45th anniversary of the 18th Assault Brigade and the city's liberation on 27 August]

[Text] [Begin Isai recording] Dear comrades, veterans, and former partisans of the 18th Assault Brigade: We are celebrating the 45th anniversary of the district's liberation from the Nazi-fascist occupiers and the domestic traitors, as well as the 45th anniversary of the 18th Assault Brigade. This is truly a great, popular celebration and I wish you many happy returns.

In the name of the party Central Committee, its first secretary, Comrade Ramiz Alia personally, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and the Council of Ministers, I convey to you best wishes. [applause]

It has now been 45 years since our armed revolution, under the leadership of the party and our legendary commander, Enver Hoxha, overthrew the old world of oppression, suppression, exploitation, and intrigues. [applause] The National Liberation War left us a legacy of sentiments and inspiration. Its characteristics have been preserved during the 45 years that have elapsed since then.

One of the more important traits of our partisans was that they had no pretensions. Their only desire was to participate in the most difficult battles and they considered the worst punishment to be that of being excluded from battles, for whatever reason. Today, it is considered an equivalent punishment to remove someone from the most difficult fronts of work and production. We must admit, however, that there are cases in which people tend to be attracted to an easy life and cushy jobs, while society is making great sacrifices in the construction of socialism. These are also being aided by some cadres through their intervention.

Solidarity was another distinguishing trait of the partisans, a trait that has been raised increasingly higher by the party during the past 45 years. The struggle for reconstruction and for the construction of socialism brought this solidarity to the fore in such massive actions as the ones in Lukova [building of plantations by young volunteers], the construction of railroads, and so forth. The elimination of the consequences of earthquakes, the elimination of provincial and religious differences, and the north-south and south-north movements are other examples of this solidarity. A typhoon swept the Kala e Dodes region a few days ago, and all Albania rose like one to help it.

Reliance on the people was another characteristic of the partisans. It was the people who filled the ranks of partisan units. It was the people who formed the vanguard units when the partisans were on the march. It was the people who supplied the partisans. It was the people who provided the hospitals in their homes. It was the people who cared for the wounded. The party raised these characteristics to higher levels in conformity with the principle that socialism is built by the masses, the party makes them aware. [applause]

Strong and conscious discipline was another characteristic of the partisans. This discipline was implanted deeply in the minds and hearts of people during the years of socialist construction. If this had not been so, it would have been difficult to carry out the agrarian reform, to impose the extraordinary postwar taxation and the expropriation of property, to carry out the industrialization, the collectivization of agriculture, and the country's electrification. If this were not so, it would have been difficult to eradicate religion and to replace it with knowledge and culture. Conscious partisan discipline is now a characteristic trait in our armed forces, the worthy successors of the partisan units. The army is how the people want it to be: well armed, strong, and vigilant. [applause]

The partisans had a great love for life because the party showed them the prospects and broad horizons of the future. They shed tears for their fallen comrades and cried out in pain. On the other hand, they were filled with optimism. The massive participation of the youth was another characteristic trait of the National Liberation War. Over 90 percent of the partisans were young people. When we salute the martyrs with clenched fists, we remember that their average age was 19-23 years. Youth has strength and energy. The party gave them the leadership and the youth carried out acts of heroism in the war. They carried out acts of heroism after the war, too. There is no action that does not bear the imprint of our youth. [applause] [end recording]

Comrade Hekuran Isai continued:

Among the lessons to be drawn from these 45 years of socialist construction, the most fundamental ones concern the constant consolidation of the leadership role of the Albanian Workers Party and the preservation of the people's power regardless of sacrifices. During these 45 years our party has never retreated before the domestic and external enemies who sought to turn it away from the Marxist-Leninist road. The party has waged particularly bitter and dangerous battles against modern revisionism in connection with the role of the party in revolution and in the construction of socialism. Our party has declared that the weakening and destruction of the leadership role of the Marxist-Leninist party leads inevitably to the destruction of the victories of the people's revolution and, consequently, to the assumption of power by the bourgeoisie.

Pluralism has now been introduced to a large degree in the revisionist countries. Even in those countries where there is hesitancy about pluralism, other ways have been

found to destroy the party, giving it secondary roles that have nothing to do with its vital and principled role in the revolution and socialism.

Another lesson to be drawn from our struggle during these 45 years concerns the consolidation of the role of the people's power, which is also decisive. All the onslaughts of our enemies have been intended to grasp power from the people. During these 45 years our party has worked step by step to consolidate the people's power and its role for the successful construction of socialism and the country's defense.

During this struggle against revisionism, our party has constantly warned against the intentions of the international bourgeoisie with regard to the people's power, saying that the revisionist road is a counterrevolutionary one, also with regard to this vital question. Our party's conclusions are now being completely vindicated. Having prepared the terrain for this, revisionism in Poland handed over power to the counterrevolution a few days ago, thus canceling de jure the victories of the revolution, for which the Polish people shed so much blood. The revisionist counterrevolution, in open alliance with the forces of the bourgeoisie and the domestic and external reaction, has now directed its sights against Hungary and is consolidating there de jure those victories that it had attained over many years.

The same fate awaits the Soviet Union. Every trace of the proletarian revolution is disappearing completely in that country as well. The Gorbachevite counterrevolution is achieving this through the most monstrous accusations and galloping anti-socialist actions.

Comrade Hekuran Isai went on to point out the glorious and militant traditions of the people of Diber District and the 155 martyrs who laid down their lives for the cause of the revolution. After speaking about the glorious road of the 18th Assault Brigade, which also fought bravely in Macedonia and Kosovo, Comrade Hekuran Isai said: We pursue an independent, sincere, and open policy in the international arena, and a policy of good-neighborliness with the Balkan peoples. However, as you know, we do not find a positive response to this policy among our northern neighbors, despite our efforts. Socialist Albania cannot be blamed for the grave situation in which Yugoslavia finds itself, as it is claiming. Nor can Kosovo and the Kosovars be blamed for this situation. They are defending their national dignity and their human and civil rights against a denigration that is contrary to all human and constitutional norms. The Kosovars seek neither privileges nor mercy, but only the rights that they have won through their struggle, like all the other peoples of Yugoslavia.

In conclusion, Comrade Hekuran Isai said: The festivities on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the country's liberation are approaching. The period that has remained until then must be a period of even greater achievements. During the coming months, the masses and the Communists will further increase their mobilization in order to go to the festivities with even greater achievements.

Assembly Delegation Departs for Switzerland

AU2908123889 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] At the invitation of the president of the Federal Assembly of the Swiss Confederation, a parliamentary delegation, headed by Petro Dode, chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, left on an official and friendly visit to Switzerland today.

The delegation was seen off at the airport by Ibrahim Hamza, deputy chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly; Sihat Tozaj, secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; deputies of the People's Assembly; and others.

Delegation Arrives

AU3008125789 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] The delegation of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania led by Petro Dode, chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, arrived yesterday in Switzerland on a friendly and official visit. The delegation was welcomed at Zurich Airport by Rudolph Reichling, counselor and former President of the National Council of the Swiss Confederation, and National Counselors Ernst Cincera and Anton Celler. Engjell Kolaneci, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic to the Swiss Federation, was also present.

Rudolf Reichling hosted in Zurich a dinner in honor of the Albanian delegation, which was also attended by national counselors Ernst Cincera and Anton Celler, as well as Counselor of State Monika Weber. The dinner was held in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Meets With Officials

AU3008130089 Tirana ATA in English 0905 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Tirana, August 30 (ATA)—On August 29, the delegation of the People's Assembly of Albania arrived in Bern, where it was received by and conducted talks with the chairman of the National Council of the Swiss Confederation, Jozep Iten, and the chairman of the States' Council of this Confederation, Ubert Reymond. They conducted a friendly talk, in the course of which opinions were exchanged on the activity of the parliaments of the two countries, the possibilities of the further promotion of the relations between the two countries in the fields of economic, trade, technical-scientific, and cultural cooperation. Both sides spoke also of current international problems. The chairman of the National Council, Jozep Iten, assessed the independent policy of

Albania, that relies its development and perspectives on its own forces and on the relations of friendship and the mutually beneficial cooperation with the other states. On his part, the chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, Petro Dod[illegible] thanking for the warm reception underscored that the Albanian people nurture friendly sentiments for the Swiss people. After acquainting the hosts with the achievements of the Albanian people in these 45 years of the people's power, he pointed out that such exchange of visits are important events and constitute an important step in the strengthening of the friendly relations between our two countries and peoples.

The chairman of the National Council and the chairman of the States' Council of the Swiss Confederation gave a dinner in honor of the delegation of the People's Assembly of Albania.

Attending these activities were also the secretary general of the Federal Assembly of the Swiss Confederation, Jean-Marc Ovan, and the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Albania in Switzerland, Engjell Kolaneci.

Events in Poland, Hungary Viewed, Criticized

AU2608141289 Tirana ATA in English 1057 GMT 26 Aug 89

["The Logical End of the Revisionist Course—Article of the Newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, August 26 (ATA)—Under the above title the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT carries today an article written by Prof Agim Popa. It deals with the recent events in Poland and Hungary, which have attracted the attention of the world public opinion. In Poland, the article stresses, the Polish United Workers Party in power failed in the parliamentary elections. President Jaruzelski charged the representative of Solidarnosc, Mozawiecki, with the task of forming the government. On its part, in essence, Hungary is following the same road as Poland and they are precipitating toward the so-called "political pluralism," toward the transformation of the Workers Socialist Party of Hungary into a social democratic one also from the formal point of view.

Such events were expected. They are the logical end of a wrong line, which opened the road to the bourgeoisie counterrevolution. The revisionists are handing over the power to the open opposers of socialism, who do not conceal at all their aims. "We, Lech Walesa stated lately, are preparing to pass into the state which existed prior to the war, when Poland was a capitalist country."

What is happening today in Poland and Hungary is the common end of all the revisionists in power, if they are not overthrown earlier by the working people themselves.

The anti communist propaganda is commenting with euphoria these events as a failure of communism, a triumph of capitalism and of the bourgeois "democracy." Eventually, the events in Poland, Hungary, and other countries following the same road, mark of the historic failure, not of socialism and Marxism-Leninism, but of revisionism. The Party of Labor of Albania has made clear, not only today, but since the time of the events that followed the notorious 20th Congress of the CP of the Soviet Union, that the anti-Marxist course adopted by the modern revisionists would lead to the restoration of capitalism and that this capitalist course would bring about crises, bitter disillusions and failures. Now the whole world has witnessed it.

The bourgeoisie and the revisionists furiously attack socialism for all those catastrophic consequences, the deviation from the principles of socialism, and the introduction into the road of capitalist restoration brought about to the former socialist countries. But the revisionists in the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, and elsewhere are in power for nearly 35 years. Therefore, neither the socialist system nor Stalin are responsible for the confusion, economic backwardness, failure, red-tape, and limited democracy, or of the interventions in Poland and Hungary, in Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan.

The imperialist Western circles, profiting from the grave crisis prevailing in the revisionist countries and from the Gorbachevian course in the Soviet Union, are openly stirring up the processes taking place in these countries.

Regarding the leading circles in the Soviet Union, they are adopting a moderate and tolerant stand toward the actual events in Poland and Hungary. This is linked, first of all, with the fact that the events in Poland and Hungary do not run counter to the general line of Gorbachev, on the contrary, his "perestroyka" has given the green light to the anti socialist forces everywhere. The stand of the Soviet Union is also explained with the fact that the hitherto developments do not impair its strategic interests, do not question immediately and directly the preservation of the Soviet zone of influence. The West, as well as those forces that are having their superiority in Poland and Hungary, have made it clear that at least in the present moment, the problem of a possible withdrawal of Poland and Hungary from the Warsaw Treaty is not raised, something which would cause a disruption of the actual equilibriums and undesirable perturbations in the East-West relations.

The world bourgeoisie and imperialism want to implant among the peoples the spirit of failures, disillusions, and lack of confidence regarding the question of socialism and to darken and close any perspective of their revolution and just struggle against the capitalist enslavement and neocolonial domination of imperialism. The advent to power of the revisionists in the Soviet Union and in some other former socialist countries which opened the way to the regressive process of the capitalist restoration and led to a grave crisis in these countries, is not at all a fatality, as the anti communist propaganda seeks to

present it. The danger of a revisionist peaceful counterrevolution may be avoided through a correct Marxist-Leninist policy, drawing lessons from the past. As Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed in the 6th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania, "socialism has all the possibilities within its system to overcome the contradictions, conflicts, and difficulties rising during its development, in order to respond to the dialectics of life. Socialism does not need to borrow reforms and mechanisms from the capitalist order it has overthrown," the article writes in conclusion.

Vietnamese Envoy Holds News Conference 28 Aug

AU2908122289 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] Le Ngoc Thanh, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, held a news conference today at the Embassy residence on occasion of the 44th anniversary of Vietnam's National Day.

The conference was attended by members of the staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, representatives of the central departments, the press, radio-television, and ATA.

Supplementary Bonuses to Cooperative Members

AU3008151189

[Editorial Report] Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian on 27 August publishes on pages 1 and 2 a 1,200-word report by Pellumb Sulo, entitled "When Production Is Better Tied Up With Remuneration," in which the author deals with additional bonuses given to three teams, or "brigades," in the cooperative of Gruemire, in Shkoder District. The author is informed by the leader of the first team that, as a result of the new system of remuneration, the members of his team will receive an additional 600 leks each for having overfulfilled the wheat production plan. The leader of the second team is reported as saying that his group, consisting of 48 members, will receive an additional 47,000 leks for having overfulfilled the wheat and bean production plan. The leader of the third team, which specializes mainly in tobacco production, is cited saying that as a result of the new remuneration system "the benefit for each member will be greater than in the previous year." All three brigade leaders are cited as saying that the new system of remuneration has been an "incentive" to all members to boost output.

Economic Progress Report for 20-26 Aug

AU2608184689

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its transmissions between 20-26 August carries the following economic performance reports:

Durres District: The export plan up to 15 August was overfulfilled by 6.3 million leks. (1800 GMT 22 Aug 89)

Librazhd District: The overall industrial plan up to 20 August was overfulfilled by 5 million leks and the export plan was exceeded by 5 percent. (1800 GMT 26 Aug 89)

Skrapar District: The general industrial production plan for the period up to 20 August was overfulfilled by 2 million leks. (1800 GMT 24 Aug 89)

Tropoje District: The overall industrial production plan up to 15 August was fulfilled by 100.5 percent. (1800 GMT 20 Aug 89)

Vlore District: The industrial production plan up to 20 August was exceeded by 5 million leks and the export plan by 1.7 million leks. (1800 GMT 23 Aug 89)

Ganev Interviewed on Friction With Turkey

PM3008111389 Barcelona LA VANGUARDIA in Spanish 21 Aug 89 p 9

[Interview with Bulgarian Deputy Foreign Minister Ivan Ganev by Ricardo Estarriol in Sofia; date not given]

[Text] Sofia—Ivan Ganev is the Bulgarian deputy foreign minister in charge of Balkan affairs.

In July Ganev, together with his Turkish counterpart, had to prepare in Vienna for the abortive Bulgarian-Turkish bilateral summit (between President Zhivkov and Prime Minister Ozal), in which the Turkish Government refused to take part at the last moment after the Bulgarians refused to accept the two points on the agenda proposed by Turkey; the emigration of Bulgarian Turks to Turkey and discussion of the situation of what the Bulgarian Government describes as "Bulgarian citizens of the Muslim religion" in Bulgaria.

Ganev is in fact the principal aide to Foreign Minister Mladenov and has recently been the Bulgarian diplomat who has dealt with the most important issues of Bulgarian foreign policy. Thus, for instance, when it was Bulgaria's turn 2 years ago to head the secretariat of the Warsaw Pact's Political Consultative Committee, it was Ganev who held the delicate post of executive secretary.

Mass Emigration

The Bulgarian deputy minister received this correspondent as hundreds of thousands of Bulgarian citizens were leaving the country for Turkey: It is the largest mass emigration in Europe since the expulsion of Germans from Czechoslovakia and Poland; an emigration which has scarcely been noted in West Europe, although it is taking place in one of the most sensitive areas of the continent and right on the Balkan border between NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

"The only chance of settling matters with our neighbors is dialogue," Ganev began, and then presented an extraordinarily dramatic picture of the Bulgarian-Turkisn tension. Ganev mentioned calls by the Turkish press for Turkey's Army to begin a march on Sofia, stressed that the Turkish Army is the second largest in NATO, that the Atlantic alliance has 20 percent of its forces in Turkey, and that two-thirds of the Turkish Army is deployed against Bulgaria, and, last, regretted that Turkey does not accept the proposal of a Balkan peninsula free from nuclear weapons. The Bulgarian deputy minister showed himself concerned about the development of the Turkish arms industry, which produces between one and two Phantoms per month and which is modernizing all its airports and seaports.

"But in the late 20th century any attempt to resolve the conflicts in this area militarily would mean that both Turkey and Bulgaria would cease to exist," Ganev concluded.

According to Ganev, the attempt to conduct negotiations (which had been prepared through the good offices of the Soviet ambassador in Ankara, who traveled to Sofia four times) failed owing to Turkish intransigence:

[Ganev] We are in favor of an open dialogue on the basis of equality, without ultimatums or preconditions, so that both sides will be able to say what they think about bilateral relations.

[Estarriol] But apparently when Bulgaria refused to accept an agenda, the Turks lost confidence in the sincerity of the dialogue.

[Ganev] The Turks are lying, because the Turks are saying: Either you sign an emigration treaty or else there will be no negotiations. And this is an ultimatum which we could not accept.

[Estarriol] So Bulgaria does not wish to discuss the current conflict with Turkey?

[Ganev] At a summit we should discuss everything—not just an emigration treaty—but, of course, we were not going to discuss the cosmos with the Turks. But tell me: Can you name me a state which has signed an emigration treaty?

[Estarriol] In fact there are some—for instance, the agreement between the FRG and Romania on the emigration of the German minority in Transylvania and the Banat.

[Ganev] Our laws do not allow us to do so. Bulgarian citizens now receive passports, go abroad if they wish, and return to Bulgaria if they so wish, but they remain Bulgarian citizens with all their rights and duties. They lose Bulgarian citizenship only if they specifically request it. There is no problem between the Bulgarian state and its citizens. Why must another state intervene here? Moreover, Turkey wishes to establish some kind of right over a section of the Bulgarian population, and this is an ultimatum: Turkey wants dialogue only if Bulgaria capitulates before beginning it.

[Estarriol] Mr Deputy Minister, let us imagine for a moment a purely hypothetical contrary situation. What would Bulgaria do if 1 million Macedonian Yugoslav citizens appeared overnight at the Bulgarian border and demanded entry because they feel Bulgarian. Would this be a purely internal Yugoslav matter?

[Ganev] If we found that we were not able to receive them, we would simply close the border. We would do the same thing as any civilized state, such as the FRG, which does not allow just anybody to enter the country.

[Estarriol] In other words, hundreds of thousands of Bulgarian citizens suddenly cross the country's borders with all their goods and chattels, and the Bulgarian state believes that this is a purely internal matter...

[Ganev] If Turkey does not accept them, let it not allow them to enter, let it require visas of them. After all, we

have a bilateral consular treaty with Turkey which envisages a procedure for granting visas. We are not now able to deny our citizens passports.

[Estarriol] To emigrate means to leave one country in order to enter another: Do you not believe that emigration affects both sides, both countries?

[Ganev] Relations should be regulated in a civilized manner, but we find ourselves subjected to an incessant campaign by the Turkish electronic media (radio and television). We do not have a civilized interlocutor. Our interlocutor has a medieval mentality: Although Bulgaria has been independent for 110 years, the Turks still regard us as a province of theirs.

[Estarriol] Do you not believe that the immediate cause of the desire to emigrate on the part of the Bulgarian citizens who feel Turkish is connected with the events of 1983?

[Ganev] What events? What tragedy? Has anybody lost his job or his family? Bear in mind that in Turkey it is compulsory to have a Turkish name.

Bulgarian Deputy Foreign Minister Ivan Ganev emphasized during his interview with LA VANGUARDIA the Bulgarian viewpoint on the need to Bulgarianize the Turkish names of Bulgarian citizens whose ancestors—according to the Bulgarian interpretation—were forced by the Ottoman occupiers to take Turkish names.

The deputy minister passed over the protests, incidents, and deaths which have occurred as a result of that action. And he asserted:

[Ganev] This is not understood in the West. It is not a human rights problem. The real problem lies in the fact that somebody is using matters such as names and religion in order to support claims to a neighboring country, with the aim of setting up a fifth column in another country. It is a kind of "blood tax" (a duty to hand over children to the occupiers imposed by the Turks on the subject population).

[Estarriol] So how do you explain the fact that for decades the Bulgarian regime has had no difficulty in recognizing the existence of a Turkish minority in the country?

[Ganev] We were not precise enough in speaking about this, but at a time when a neighboring country has begun to use this idea in support of Pan-Turkism, we have had to clarify it.

The Bulgarian politician cited as arguments the Turkish intervention in Cyprus and the "Turkish attempts to interfere in the election of deputies in Greece."

Ganev was evidently referring to the representation problems of the Muslim minority in eastern Thrace (Greece), where under the 1922 Treaty of Lausanne a Muslim minority was left in return for a continued Greek presence in the Patriarchate of Constantinople in Istanbul. Even then—like the Bulgarians now—the Greeks would not speak of Turks.

[Estarriol] So who, in your opinion, are the Bulgarian citizens who speak Turkish and feel Turkish?

[Ganev] It is of no interest to us what they feel. In Bulgaria everybody can speak whatever language they please—German, English, or Turkish—but the official language is Bulgarian and all citizens must speak it.

[Estarriol] So they cannot say that they are Turkish...

[Ganev] What we cannot give them is minority status.

As can be seen, the prospects of Bulgaria and Turkey being able to reach an agreement are now more remote than ever.

Soviet Ambassador in Ankara Chernyshev has stated over the past few days that he has not ceased to offer his good offices as a mediator, but the viewpoints expressed by Ganev show that the stances have hardened.

Muslims Publish Anti-Turkish Declaration

AU3008150089 Sofia BTA in English 1324 GMT 30 Aug 89

["Bulgarian Muslim Clergy's Declaration"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, August 30 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Muslim clergy called on Turkey to end the disgraceful manipulation of the religious feelings of Muslim Bulgarians.

The participants in an enlarged session of the Supreme Religious Council of the Muslim Denomination, which was also attended by imams and chairmen of Bulgarian Muslim boards, expressed their profound indignation over the anti-Bulgarian campaign of vilification carried out in Turkey and by Turkish officials who claim that Bulgaria allegedly abuses the religious rights and freedoms of the Bulgarians professing Islam.

"We have stated it repeatedly and we state it once again that the Islamic religion in Bulgaria is not only free to practice but also enjoys complete respect and assistance from the Bulgarian state. The mosques are open for prayer services. All religious rites are freely performed and the Muslim festivals are observed. Muslim clergymen are trained and religious literature is available. Wide-ranging contacts are maintained with our co-religionists in many Arab and Islamic countries," says a declaration adopted at the session.

It expresses indignation at the campaign launched by Turkey in which religion is used as a means to achieve its pan-Turkic ends and to set the Muslim Bulgarians against their homeland Bulgaria.

Full support is expressed for Bulgaria's policy of pursuing civilized and good-neighbourly relations with Turkey in full compliance with the Vienna accords. The declaration condemns Turkey's unilateral decision to

close its border on August 22 after it had lured many Bulgarian Muslims to visit it.

Dr Nedyo Gendzhev, chief mufti, delivered a report on the Muslim Bulgarians' rights and freedom of religion.

The actual strategic goal of the incumbent Turkish Government is to turn the Muslim communities in the countries neighbouring on Turkey into a bridgehead for its aggressive designs on them. Making a noisy and provocative show of its readiness to accept all Muslims from the territory of the onetime Ottoman Empire, Turkey practically seeks to manipulate in a pan-Turkish spirit the Muslims in the neighbouring countries whom it considers 'Turks', Dr Nedyo Gendzhev indicated.

Ten Muslim clergymen spoke in favour of the conclusions and facts contained in the report.

The session was attended by Mr Lyubomir Popov, chairman of the Committee for Affairs of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church and the Religious Denominations and deputy minister of foreign affairs.

PZPR's Rakowski Holds News Conference in Varna

AU3008185589 Sofia BTA in English
1803 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Varna, August 30 (BTA)—Mr Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Central Committee [CC] of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] today was interviewed for the BTA, the Bulgarian Television and the Bulgarian Radio.

He paid special attention to the decisions of the 14th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party and particularly stressed the conclusion that at the present stage neither the PZPR, nor Solidarity alone are in a position to take the country out of the state it is, nor can they do it in opposition to each other. That is why the partnership between the two main forces in Poland is vital. We are still at a very early, initial stage of real interaction and the path to it will be neither easy nor short, Mieczyslaw Rakowski said. It is good that there are forces in the opposition who consider the partnership necessary.

No doubt, the Polish United Workers Party will take part in the formation of the future government. The representatives of the opposition stated that they cannot imagine a government without the participation of Communists.

The first secretary of the CC of the PZPR dwelt in detail on the role of the party in the present situation, on its efforts to mobilize the Communists for concrete action. The self-confidence of the party is not up to the criteria of the time we live in, he said. It will take a longer period of time to restructure the party and restore its efficiency.

Mr Rakowski believes that despite the difficulties Poland is experiencing and despite the complex processes taking place in society, there is no real danger of Poland's ceasing to be a socialist country in the future. But it should be known that there are people in the opposition who would like to discredit the gains of socialism and cast suspicion on what has been achieved. The Polish United Workers Party and its leadership must act in such a way as to prevent any lagging behind in the socialist development of the country.

International Balkan Studies Congress Opens

AU3008144589 Sofia BTA in English
1118 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Sofia, August 30 (BTA)—The Sixth International Balkan Studies Congress was opened here today.

The congress, which is attended by historians, linguists, literary scholars, ethnologists, folklore scholars, socio-scholars not only from the Balkan countries but also from Europe and America, Asia and Africa, is convened by the European Association for South-East Europe studies.

The congress is under the patronage of State Council President Mr Todor Zhivkov. A greetings address by Mr Todor Zhivkov was read at the congress.

Academician Nikolay Todorov, chairman of the organizational committee, stressed the aim of the congresses: To study mostly the things that unite the Balkan peoples, to throw light on the "blank spots" in their past and relations which have been deliberately neglected for years.

In connection with the coinciding of the congress with the anniversary of the great French Revolution and the beginning of the World War Second, Academician Todorov spoke of the complicated historical fate of Europe, and Noted that it finds strength to restore the political dialogue in spite of the fact that it is burdened by its historical past. To a greater extent this is valid for the Balkans, said he, where the relations between the Balkan peoples have always been comprehensive and often hostile.

It is difficult to overcome the prejudices and mistrusts inherited from numerous clashes and wars, skillfully used, in the not so distant past, for kindling extreme nationalism. In a number of cases their consequences have not been overcome still and we are witnesses of constant reminiscences in the bilateral relations in the Balkans.

Academician Nikolay Todorov recalled also the history of congresses on Balkan studies and the fact that the first of them has been held in Bulgaria, as well. He noted the climate of mutual respect which has been built gradually despite the presence of difference of opinions on the treatment of a number of problems. His conclusion was: All congresses held till the present, regardless of the changing situation in the Balkans, have been a step forward in the consolidation of the contacts between the scientific circles, in the moderation and improvement of the climate in the Balkans.

"Recalling this I would like to express my deep regret over the refusal of the Turkish delegation to participate in the present congress, and over the appeal with which it proposed a boycott against the congress. I am deeply convinced that this act introduces gross politization in our activity, something which we have not admitted till the present. I think, that despite everything, we will remain truthful to the correct line which we adopted more than a quarter of a century ago, and which we implement so successfully. I am still of the opinion that we must not follow the example of our Turkish colleagues and should not answer on our side with an assessment of the internal affairs in Turkey or of the attitude of the Turkish governing circles toward other peoples and countries," said the Bulgarian scholar.

The congress was also addressed by Prof. Milutin Garasanin (Yugoslavia), president of the International Association of Southeast European Studies (AIESEE). He thanked the organizing committee and the scholars who have come to Sofia to share with their colleagues the results of their latest research.

Having considered the importance of the subjects which will be discussed at this forum, Prof. Garasanin spoke about the 25-year-long work of the association, which has always been characterized by a spirit of friendship and mutual respect, by a spirit of human understanding, which should underlie relations not only in the region but all over the world, the scholar said.

He deplored the recent decision of the Turkish delegation which withdrew in the last minute from the congress. Prof. Garasanin stressed the determination of the international committee members to remain committed to the adopted policy of cooperation and interaction for the sake of science.

A greetings address to the congress has also arrived from Mr Federico Mayor Zaragoza, director general of UNESCO. It reads in part: "Since 1966, when the First Congress on Balkan Studies was held, all subsequent forums have helped the promotion of the dialogue and the fruitful exchange of experience among thousands of experts in social sciences and humanities.

"Profoundly aware of your sense of responsibility to science, you work guided by a moral duty to the peace process on the planet which is increasingly turning into mankind's universal aspiration. In the days of this sixth congress, which is held at the time of the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of WW II, I am fortunate to share with you a hope and a conviction. I hope that at the end of the 20th century the peoples and the political officials increasingly realize the interdependence among individual nations in our common planetary home. On the other hand, I am convinced that everyone can contribute to the easing of tensions. I am also convinced that when a vital matter such as peace is at issue, the global concept and the work at places should be in harmony and that the everybody's conduct is integrated into the road covered collectively by a definite community or in a definite region."

The participants in the congress were wished successful and fruitful proceedings on behalf of the International Information Centre on the Sources of Balkan and Mediterranean History (CIBAL) and of the delegations of Albania, Greece, Romania, France, the FRG, the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain.

The congress continues with section meetings and round table discussions.

Zhivkov Greets Congress

AU3008151089 Sofia BTA in English 1301 GMT 30 Aug 89

["Todor Zhivkov's Greetings Address"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, August 30 (BTA)—The Sixth International Congress on Balkan Studies, which opened here today, heard a greetings address from Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council. The address reads:

"On behalf of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and on my own behalf, it is my pleasure to greet you, the explorers of the history, the languages and the culture of the Balkan Peninsula's peoples, on the opening of this congress.

"Nearly a quarter of a century ago, it was again Bulgaria's hospitable capital that hosted the First International Congress on Balkan Studies. Obviously, the beginning was rewarding and promising, once you have assembled again on the basis of your shared scholarly interests and purposes."

"Even though your congresses are attended predominantly by historians, you, just like us politicians, are mostly interested in the present and above all in the future. The present-day world is complicated and beset by unprecedented problems with disastrous prospects for man and mankind. I am convinced you will agree that on the other hand, there have never been more favourable conditions for the triumph of reason, for a creative beginning in all human undertakings, there have never been better grounds for historical optimism. There are many reasons but the most important among them is new political thinking which implies civilized and profoundly moral international and state-to-state relations, the overcoming of the effects of the times of confrontation and nuclear threat.

"Naturally, this political thinking is not and cannot be just the work of politicians and diplomats. It increasingly determines the character of the present-day world, its economic, social and cultural dimensions. I believe that you all are convinced that it influences, directly or indirectly, your noble scholarly work.

"As is known, new political thinking finds expression, among other things, in the idea of a common European

home. As a historian put it, we can all hear the mysterious voice of history and we can feel how the European peoples go ahead with the construction of this home.

"We Balkanites have our own 'storey' in the common European home. It is very important what spirit will prevail on this storey: the evil spirit of times past or the spirit of understanding and the shared will for all-round progress. I would like you to see for yourself that Bulgarians believe in the happy future of our Balkan community. They believe in it for well-known reasons arising from the wealth of our history and culture and from the experience we have accumulated over the last decades and from the efforts of those political forces which think and work in the spirit of the new time.

"The People's Republic of Bulgaria addresses consistently the problems of our time from the positions of the new historical content which develops in the present-day world, from the positions of those values which characterize modern human civilisation. At home, this finds expression in the revolutionary renewal of our society, in the enrichment of its material, social and intellectual life. We live and work under the sign of thirst for creativity and thirst for progress in all spheres. This is particularly true of our policy here, in the Balkans. We have always sought and we seek to contribute to the easing of tensions, to good-neighbourliness and cooperation with all peoples and countries. We are and we will be staunch opponents of all attempts to reopen old sores and to foment passions for new conflicts.

"I would like to believe that by studying the history and the language, the culture and all other aspects of the life of Bulgarians in the past and in the present, you will take into account this truth about our people and our state.

"All Balkan peoples share an old proverb: It matters who your relatives are, but it matters even more who your neighbours are. It is history that has brought us together on the Balkan Peninsula. Scholars all over the world take interest in the destinies of this region. They have asserted Balkan studies as a science and as a quest for increasing spiritual closeness among peoples. The International Association of Southeast European Studies with UNESCO. [sentence as received]

"I take the opportunity to thank UNESCO most cordially for its support to the organization of this congress and to wish this humanitarian organization and its esteemed director general, Mr Federico Mayor Zaragoza, every success in the field of culture and intercultural communication.

"I wish you all fruitful discussions and a good time in our country".

Zaykov, Panev Address BCP Sofia Bureau

AU3008153189 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 29 Aug pp 1, 3

[Unattributed report: "Sofia-Moscow—Fruitful Development of Direct Relations"]

[Text] Lev Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the CPSU Moscow City Committee, is visiting our country at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP].

Many issues related to the theory and practice of socialism were reviewed at a meeting of Comrade Lev Zaykov with the Bureau of the BCP Sofia City Committee and the first secretaries of the municipal party committees. Experience related to the crucial issues of the socioeconomic development of the USSR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria in Moscow and Sofia was exchanged during the frank and friendly dialogue.

Comrade Lev Zaykov conveyed to the Sofia Communists and working people the greetings of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Ivan Panev, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the BCP Sofia City Committee, cordially thanked the CPSU Central Committee and Mikahil Gorbachev for the warm and fraternal greetings. He stressed that the Bulgarian Communists are inspired by the CPSU experience, and that the coincidence of principles of the basic goals and tasks of profoundly restructuring all areas of social life in our countries and further improving the mechanisms and forms of close cooperation, pointed out during the recent working meeting in Moscow between Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Mikhail Gorbachev, reveals favorable opportunities for creating a new model of comprehensive cooperation between our countries under conditions of restructuring and raising Bulgarian-Soviet relations to a qualitatively new level.

The first secretary of the BCP Sofia City Committee pointed out that we are united in the main and basic factors of restructuring, something that all Sofia Communists and all our party figures understand very well. Afterward he briefed the guests on the basic tasks of mobilizing the creative and social energy of the BCP Sofia organization and all our capital's working people. Comrade Ivan Panev especially spoke about the work being performed in the practical implementation of the July Concept and the postulates of the BCP Central Committee secretary general's report "About Some Fundamental Problems of Restructuring Our Economy," read at the July 1989 meeting of the BCP Central Committee Politburo. He stressed that the work related to introducing the company-based organization as a real economic method represents the main effort of the profound structural changes of the priority areas of Sofia's economy. This will undoubtedly intensify the

participation of the labor collectives in the activity of the enterprises and companies. The basic goal of the intensive work and struggle for fulfilling and overfulfilling the production plans and producing additional goods and services, above the quantity envisaged by the plan, is related to improving the Sofia citizens' standard of living.

The first secretary of the BCP Sofia City Committee pointed out that improving the ideological, political, and organizational work of the BCP Sofia city organization now acquires exceptionally great importance. Turning the cause of restructuring into an active political position and the vital cause and personal cause of every Communist and Sofia citizen is a basic issue. Comrade Ivan Panev expressed the conviction that direct relations between the two fraternal capitals' party organizations and and scientific and labor collectives will constantly expand, strengthen, and develop in a fruitful and efficient manner.

In his speech, Comrade Lev Zaykov spoke in detail, with many examples from the ideological and economic practice, about the activity of the CPSU and Soviet Communists under conditions of restructuring, the increased political activity of the working people, and the results of the work of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which accelerated the processes of renewal in Soviet society. The distinguished Soviet guest devoted special attention to self-management, democratization, and glasnost at all levels, the economic reform in the USSR, and certain negative phenomena. He pointed out that certain party organizations in Moscow proved unprepared for the elections to the Congress of People's Deputies and proved unable to work in an active and purposeful manner under the changed conditions, characterized by the sharp political discussion and the pluralism of opinions. Comrade Lev Zaykov pointed out the importance of strengthening and improving the authority of party organizations through the power of their example, by political means and forms of influence, and through strengthening their organic relation with the masses. Therefore, now the ideological and organizational activity, saturated with vitality and specific elements, is concentrated in the primary party organizations, labor collectives, and dwellings, everywhere where the fate of restructuring is being decided. A discussion related to the role of the party and the CPSU Moscow city organization at the present stage of restructuring, and about the role and contribution of every Communist to the processes of renewal is being developed at the initiative of the CPSU Moscow city organization.

Afterward, within the context of the country's present political situation, Comrade Lev Zaykov spoke about the report and election meetings that have already begun in the CPSU. He pointed out that the CPSU Central Committee Politburo believes there is an urgent necessity to make profound changes in the activity of the party and its leading organs. This requires developing and asserting new work methods, which are to increase the CPSU's role as a political vanguard of the Soviet society. Party meetings, plenums, and conferences are called upon to become real laboratories for active and creative thought, in which well-analyzed and well-founded proposals, related to improving the activity of the CPSU in direct relation to the preparations for its 28th Congress, will be produced.

In response to a request expressed at the meeting, Comrade Lev Zaykov spoke in detail about the "Progress-95" complex territorial-branch program, and on the development of the concept related to shifting the economic organizations and enterprises in Moscow and all its districts to the principles of the cost-accounting. Organically connecting the territorial communities with the branch enterprises and departments is a basic characteristic of the prospects of further developing Moscow's economy. He expressed the conviction that despite the difficulties, this complex approach, as well as the activation of all levers of the economic reform, will more quickly produce the desired results, which will subsequently be reflected in the social area.

In his presentation, Comrade Lev Zaykov also spoke about the general plan for Moscow and Moscow Oblast as a uniform region, and about the necessity to create and adopt a law on the status of the Soviet capital.

In conclusion, he stressed the importance of active cooperation between Moscow and Sofia, which must give an example of developing and improving the efficiency of cooperation between the local organs of the CPSU and the BCP. Comrade Lev Zaykov said that it is necessary to further expand and strengthen direct relations between the CPSU Moscow District Committees and the BCP Sofia Municipal Committees, as well as between the two capitals' economic organizations. It is necessary to establish joint enterprises and march forward together. We shall gladly transfer to Moscow everything that makes Sofia proud.

Comrade Lev Zaykov gave Comrade Ivan Panev a copy of the "Progress-95" complex territorial-branch program and expressed his confidence that the experience, contained in that project, prepared with the participation of many scientific collectives and central departments in Moscow, could be useful to the Sofia Communists and working people, to whom he cordially wished successes in the great cause of restructuring.

The meeting, which took place in a frank and comradely atmosphere, and in a businesslike spirit, was attended by Viktor Sharapov, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria.

Georgi Atanasov Meets Romania's Radu in Sofia

AU2808195089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1818 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] Sofia AGERPRES, 28/8/1989—Warm messages were exchanged between Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], president of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, when Georgi Atanasov, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the BCP, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, received Ion Radu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, deputy prime minister, in Sofia to attend the 18th session of the Romanian-Bulgarian Intergovernmental Commission of Economic, Technical and Scientific Cooperation.

During the talks held on the occasion aspects were approached of the Romanian-Bulgarian economic cooperation, as well as possibilities of further promoting economic cooperation and trade in the interest of the two countries and peoples.

Danchev Receives Japanese Investments Banker

AU3008191589 Sofia BTA in English 1552 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Sofia, August 30 (BTA)—Mr Petko Danchev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, today received Mr Takao Watanabe, leader of the Foreign Investments Institute of the Japanese export-import "EXIMBANK". The Japanese banker is visiting Bulgaria to study the possibilities of extending interaction in the conditions of the restructuring which is under way in the Bulgarian economy.

The two sides discussed the possibilities for the extension of this bank's participation in investments made in Bulgaria and with capitals in Bulgarian joint-stock companies.

Ivan Dragnevski, president of the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank, also attended the meeting.

Comparison of Report on Zhivkov-Rakowski Talk

AU2908084289

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 28 August on page 1 carries a 500-word report on the 27 August meeting in Varna between Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and State Council chairman, and Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party. Comparison with the item headlined "Poland's Rakowski Arrives on Working Visit" and subheaded "Meets With Zhivkov" published in the 28 August East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 4, column one, shows the two versions to be identical except for the following variation:

Last paragraph, last sentence in RABOTNICHESKO DELO reads: ...peoples in Europe.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov again most cordially greeted Comrade Mieczyslaw Rakowski on his recent election as first secretary of the Central Committee of the United Polish Workers Party. He addressed most cordial greetings to Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the Polish People's Republic, and the friendly Polish people.

The meeting took place in a friendly atmosphere and in a spirit of sincerity and mutual understanding. (supplying additional material)

Leaders Public Appearances for 18-25 Aug

AU2508203789

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newscasts, the Sofia press, and Sofia BTA in English during the monitoring period from 1500 GMT on 18 August through 1500 GMT on 25 August report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

The following leaders attended a reception at the Romanian Embassy in Sofia on 22 August to mark Romania's National Day: Dimitur Stoyanov, Vasil Tsanov, and Georgi Yordanov. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Aug 89 p 6)

The following leaders attended a reception at the Czechoslovak Embassy held in Sofia on 23 August to mark the 45th anniversary of the Slovak uprising: Emil Khristov, Stoyan Ovcharov, and Grigor Stoichkov. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 23 Aug 89) Milko Balev and Dimitur Stanishev welcomed at Sofia Airport on 24 August Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party, on his arrival on a brief visit. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 24 Aug 89)

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) and chairman of the State Council, received in Sofia on 23 August Tom Lantos, a Democrat member of the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress. (Sofia BTA in English 1725 GMT 23 Aug 89)

Petko Danchev, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, held talks in Sofia on 23 August with Gerhard Wagner, chairman of the Board of Directors of Austria's Laenderbank. (Sofia BTA in English 1747 GMT 23 Aug 89)

Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, attended a conference in Burgas on 18 August of the Burgas Oblast party, state and agricultural aktiv on cereal production. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Aug 89 p 2) In Sofia on 22 August Tsanov spoke at a festive meeting to mark Romania's National Day. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 22 Aug 89) (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Aug 89 p 6)

Ministry Statement on FRG Sentence for Hijackers

LD3008202389 Prague CTK in English 1857 GMT 30 Aug 89

["Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry Statement on Sentence of Hijackers"—CTK headline]

[Text] Prague Aug 30 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry spokesman has again expressed suprise at the fact that the West German bodies did not comply and do not want to comply with the repeated Czechoslovak request to extradite Stefan Macicko and Dusan Styk, who hijacked a Hungarian aircraft last March, though all legal prerequisites for the extradition had been fulfilled.

Referring to yesterday's sentence of the two hijackers by the juvenile court in Frankfurt, the spokesman stated that the action of the West German authorities is not in accordance with West Germany's proclaimed interest in effective international cooperation in suppressing all forms of international terrorism, of which the most dangerous are hijacks of aircraft, the more if weapons are used.

Hijacker Behula Sentenced To Serve 13 Years

LD3108132789 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1200 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Text] The main trial of Bohuslav Behula, who on 26 May of this year seriously threatened the safety of a Yak-40 plane on the Prague-Karlovy Vary route, ended today in Plzen Regional Court. The accused was found guilty by the jury. He was convicted of threatening the passenger and crew with death by using a dummy hand grenade to gain control over the plane and change its course to the FRG. In doing so he committed a criminal offense by endangering an aircraft. This is based on paragraph 180 of the Criminal Code and he will be classified as an exceptionally dangerous criminal. Bohuslav Behula was sentenced to 13 years' incarceration in the Third Corrective-Educational Regime.

USSR's Vorotnikov Arrives on Vacation 29 Aug

LD2908202189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Vitaliy Vorotnikov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium, arrived in Czechoslovakia today for a vacation. In the afternoon he had a conversation with Josef Kempny, chairman of the Czech National Council, on the progress of the economic reform and democratization of the life of the societies of the two countries. They also discussed further cooperation between the deputies of the Czech National Council and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

Jakes Receives Vorotnikov; Lenart Attends

LD3008195289 Prague CTK in English 1800 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 30 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes received here today member of the Soviet Communist Party Politburo, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Vitaliy Vorotnikov, who is in Czechoslovakia on holiday. Present at the meeting was Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Lenart.

Milos Jakes told the guest about the implementation of the economic reform in Czechoslovakia and the approach to environmental protection, to be discussed by the next session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee.

Vitaliy Vorotnikov informed Milos Jakes in detail of the course of restructuring in the USSR. The Communist Party must be at the head of the process of changes, he stressed.

Ukrainian Official Holds Agriculture Talks

Discusses Cooperation With Janak

LD2908164189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0900 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Ignac Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee, received in Bratislava today Yuriy Kolomiyets, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, who is in Slovakia on a working visit. In a cordial conversation, the representatives briefed each other on the creation of conditions for intensifying mutually beneficial contacts between Slovakia and the Ukraine, including establishing direct production ties. They focused their attention mainly on the opportunities of developing cooperation in the agricultural and food complex, which ranks among the main branches in both republics.

Meets Slovak Minister

LD2908222889 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Yuriy Kolomiyets, deputy premier of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, held talks today in Bratislava with Julius Varga, Slovak minister of agriculture and food. They discussed experiences gained in the course of implementing the new economic mechanism in this field. Ninety Slovak enterprises have direct cooperation contacts, on the basis of an agreement signed last year with partners in the Ukraine. They agreed on beginning to tackle the problem of albumen through a joint soya growing project.

Meets Hrivnak, Zajic

AU3008125989 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Aug 89 p 1

[CTK report]

[Text] In Nitra yesterday [28 August] Comrade Pavel Hrivnak, candidate member of the Presidium of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee and premier of the SSR [Slovak Socialist Republic], received Yuriy Kolomiyets, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee (Gosagroprom), who is paying a working visit to the SSR. Among other things, they briefed one another on the current state of, and the further possibilities for closer, cooperation in the form of direct relations between the agricultural and food-processing enterprises of the two republics. The reception was attended by Comrades Miroslav Zajic, CPCZ Central Committee secretary; Ondrej Saling, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee; and Julius Varga, SSR minister of agriculture and food.

Jakes Briefed on Central Slovak Grain Harvest

AU2908161389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 Aug 89 p 5

[CTK report]

[Text] In Banska Bystrica on Saturday [26 August], Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee, received a delegation of the party and state bodies and social organizations of the Central Slovak region, headed by Jan Selecky, leading secretary of the Slovak Communist Party's Central Slovak Regional Committee.

In a cordial get-together, the representatives of the region briefed Comrade Milos Jakes on the successful fulillment of the region's economic tasks in the first 6 months of the year in both industry and agriculture. Although the harvest in the northern district still continues, today one can already say that this year's crop of densely sown grain, amounting to more than 4.6 tonnes per hectare, will be close to the harvests of the record years. They informed our highest party representative about the support of the region's population for the political line of the CPCZ.

Finnish Minister of State, Delegation on Visit

Lenart Receives Kanerva

LD2908162389 Prague CTK in English 1239 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 29 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Lenart received here today a delegation of the National Coalition Party of Finland, led by member of its leadership and Minister of State Ilkka Kanerva.

The two sides discussed ways of promoting cooperation and exchanged views on the intensification of relations between the two countries and on the process of disarmament in Europe.

Johanes Receives Delegation

LD2908194989 Prague CTK in English 1752 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 29 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes received here today a three-member delegation of the National Coalition Party of Finland, led by State Minister Ilkka Kanerva.

They exchanged opinions on international topics and stressed that Czechoslovakia and Finland have identical or similar attitudes to the solution of the most significant international problems.

Jaromir Johanes appreciated the active peace policy of Finland and stressed that the Czechoslovak proposal for the creation of a zone of confidence, cooperation and good-neighbour relations, as well as another Czechoslovak initiative aimed at protecting the environment in central Europe are Czechoslovakia's concrete contribution to the building of a common European home.

Ilkka Kanerva appreciated in this connection the concrete efforts of Czechoslovakia's foreign policy in the fulfilment of ideas and aims of the Helsinki process.

They positively evaluated the development of Czechoslovak-Finnish relations and stressed the two countries' preparedness to develop and deepen them in all spheres of joint interest.

Holds News Conference

LD3008154289 Prague CTK in English 1146 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 30 (CTK)—"During our stay in Czechoslovakia we have gained a number of positive impressions of the process of restructuring of Czechoslovak political and economic life," head of the Finnish National Coalition Party delegation Ilkka Kanerva told newsmen today.

The delegation visited Czechoslovakia on August 28-30 at the invitation of the Czechoslovak National Front Central Committee. This is the second visit by representatives of this party to Czechoslovakia, the first took place in 1987.

Ilkka Kanerva said the talks here focused on issues related to political and economic life in Czechoslovakia and the present developments in Europe. In this context he appreciated Czechoslovakia's active foreign policy, especially its initiatives which, he said, contribute significantly to the European process of detente.

Kanerva also said the two sides had exchanged views on ways of expanding Czechoslovak-Finnish cooperation, and voiced interest in promoting contacts of his party with the Czechoslovak National Front. He said a Czechoslovak National Front delegation has been invited to visit Finland next year.

Meets Urban, Departs

LD3008154389 Prague CTK in English 1253 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 30 (CTK)—Czechoslovak First Deputy Premier Bohumil Urban received here today State Minister of Finland Ilkka Kanerva, currently on a visit to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the Czechoslovak National Front Central Committee.

The Finnish guest was interested in the possibilities of further development of bilateral relations in the political and trade spheres and in environmental cooperation.

The Finnish and Czechoslovak representatives said that in spite of a favourable development of mutual trade exchange, the two sides' business circles do not make sufficient use of the potential provided for by the agreement on removing obstacles to trade, and called for better knowledge of the partner's possibilities of production and exports.

They also dealt with issues connected with the development of cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the European Free Trade Association, whose member is also Finland. Bohumil Urban expressed Czechoslovakia's interest in cooperation with the association, inter alia in the sphere of standardization and mutual recognition of technological tests.

They stressed the two governments' interest in a considerable expansion of contacts in all spheres.

Later today the Finnish delegation of the National Coalition Party left for home.

Fojtik Speaks at East Slovak Party Aktiv

AU3008125289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Aug 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Growing Demands on Political Forms of Management"]

[Text] Kosice—At a party aktiv held in Kosice on Monday [28 August], members and functionaries of party bodies from the East Slovak region conferred on the tasks of the party prior to the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ].

Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, spoke about the most important tasks of the party and society at large in the pre-congress period, about the activation of antisocialist oriented illegal groups, and about developments in fraternal communist and workers parties.

Characterizing the present state of the restructuring of the economic mechanism and of the democratization of social life, he emphasized the creative atmosphere and activity in labor collectives on the platform of the seventh CPCZ Central Committee session of 1987. The fundamental prerequisite for further progress in implementing the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress, he stressed, is to improve everywhere order in production and in supplier-user relations, to maintain stricter working discipline, and to improve remuneration. It is also necessary to change the approach to people, to the solution of their legitimate claims and demands, and to wage a struggle against manifestations of red tape and tutelage. The task of party bodies and organizations is to contribute with political forms of management to the acceleration of restructuring, to the stabilization and unity of our society, and to keeping our citizens fully informed. They must also consistently support constructive criticism, work toward a speedier practical introduction of the results of science and technology, and promote the introduction of new technologies and a more rational organization of labor.

"No appeals, no matter how radical, will help us implement these intentions, unless there is such a social atmosphere in our country as will make possible constructive activities, creativeness, and the concentration of forces on the solution of society's acute problems, on the removal of shortcomings standing in the way of development," Jan Fojtik said.

"We are carrying out changes of principle in society, changes which follow up on the revolutionary accomplishments gained during the construction of socialism. This is a solid foundation—we will not allow its depreciation. We will not permit, under any attractive slogans, the political scene to turn into an arena of struggle for power, nor shall we allow doubts to be cast on the prospects of socialism in our country," he stressed.

In another part of his speech, J. Fojtik characterized the present political situation in the Hungarian People's Republic and the Polish People's Republic.

He stressed that no one will settle our problems for us, we must proceed from the rich historical experience we have gained as well as from the present needs of our country. Nothing could do more harm than the dogmatic taking over of methods of the others.

Later in the day, J. Fojtik had a meeting with the East Slovak delegates to the forthcoming national teachers' conference, with party functionaries, university rectors, directors of primary and secondary schools, and other representatives of the more than 46,000 educational staff of the region.

Johanes Meets Cuba's Malmierca During Stopover

AU3008125589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Aug 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Relations" column]

[Text] On the way to the nonaligned countries' summit meeting in Belgrade, Isidoro Malmierca Peoli, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Cuba, made a stopover in Prague on Monday [28 August]. He was met at Ruzyne Airport by Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs. During a talk they exchanged views on some topical issues of the current international situation, as well as on problems connected with the upcoming summit of the nonaligned countries.

Zavadil Receives Spain's Camacho in Prague

AU2908075389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Aug 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Relations" column]

[Text] Miroslav Zavadil, member of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, met with Marcelino Camacho, chairman of the Trade Union Confederation of Workers Commissions of Spain, in Prague on Thursday [24 August]. He briefed his guest on the present stage of the restructuring of the economic mechanism in the CSSR, and the position and tasks of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement in that process. The two representatives also assessed the development of relations between Czechoslovak and Spanish trade unions to date, and favored further expansion of this cooperation for the benefit of the working peoople of the two countries.

CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Session

AU2808194789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Aug 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Report From a Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Presidium Session"]

[Text] Prague—At its Friday [25 August] session the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium discussed new draft statutes for the party.

The draft pursues the aim of assisting the party to fulfill its vanguard role in society under the new conditions. It preserves and strengthens conditions for the consistent implementation and development of proven Leninist principles, construction norms, and the party's activity. The newly laid down norms for democratic centralism, in harmony with the requirements of the ninth CPCZ Central Committee session, institute prerequisites for the independent creative work of all elements of the party structure, for the intensification of the leading role of the party, and for the further development of life within the party. They highlight the necessity of implementing and systematically developing principles for the widespread flow of information to organizations and Communists, and for their links with working and citizens' collectives. They concretize the process of the democratization of elections, of cadre work, and the whole of the party's internal life. The draft for the new statutes establishes as an important form of control the implementation of the method of rendering accounts at all levels. It will place greater emphasis on the work of Communists in their place of residence, including the work of registered members and candidate members of the party. In order to intensify collectivism in preparations for the proceedings of the party's highest organs, it has been proposed that public discussion and discussion within the party on important congress documents be organized.

In connection with this point of the agenda, the Presidium discussed and adopted political and organizational provisions for the all-party discussion on the new CPCZ draft statutes which have been prepared for the 18th CPCZ Congress. The Presidium stressed that the aim of this discussion is to activate the party's internal life, to strengthen the unity of party ranks, and at the same time to enable all party organs, organizations, and each member and candidate member of the party to openly express their views, comments, and suggestions on the draft statutes, and thus become an active joint creator of the party document.

The Presidium considered a Report on the Development of the National Economy and the Fulfillment of the CSSR State Plan During the First 6 Months of 1989. It stated that in this period in the national economy several positive tendencies have begun to be manifested, although a number of long-term problems and shortcomings continue to linger on. According to an estimate, during the first 6 months the national income increased by roughly 2 percent (the state plan envisaged 1.6 percent). The overall growth in national income was covered by the growth in the social productivity of labor. The Presidium highlighted the necessity of paying increased attention to the comprehensive fulfillment of the tasks of the national economic plan for this year. It is necessary to create prerequisites for introducing the restructuring of the economic mechanism in all branches of the national economy from 1 January 1990. In order to fulfill the tasks, it is still necessary to more actively develop working initiative in honor of the 18th CPCZ Congress and the 45th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia. (The Report by the Federal Statistical Office has been published).

The Presidium discussed preparations for a working meeting of Central Committee secretaries with responsibility for economic issues from the fraternal parties of the CEMA countries, which will take place in Prague on 26-28 September. It approved a CPCZ delegation for this meeting which will be headed by Ivan Knotek, member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium.

It became acquainted with the course of a working visit made by Jozef Lenart, member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, to the Romanian Socialist Republic on 6-9 August 1989. It noted with satisfaction the further development of relations between the CPCZ and the Romanian Communist Party and the CSSR and the Romanian Socialist Republic, which arose out of discussions between the most senior party representatives of both countries. It set the task of drafting and implementing tasks in the spirit of the meeting's conclusions.

In connection with the consideration of the internal political situation, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium praised the responsible attitude of the citizens, members of all political parties, and the National Front social organizations which had been demonstrated in recent days in the interest of public peace and order. It praised the efforts of the security units and the People's Militia which, in harmony with our Legal Code, confronted the provocation of antisocialist forces on 21 August and successfully carried out their duty. At the same time, it condemned the provocative participation by some foreign groups.

CPCZ Greets Austrian Communist on Birthday

AU3008125889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Aug 89 p 2

["z"-signed report in the "Receptions, Talks, Telegrams, Letters" column]

[Text] Prague—The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee sent a telegram of congratulations to Erwin Scharf, longtime leading functionary of the Communist Party of Austria, on the occasion of his 75th birthday.

Commentary Criticizes Baltic 'Extremists'

AU3008124889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Aug 89 p 7

[Kubor Kazda article: "An Appeal to Reason; Development in the Baltic Republics Causes Serious Alarm in the USSR"]

[Text] I have seen the recent pictures from the Baltic republics. Desecration of Soviet state symbols. Swastikas intertwined with five-pointed stars. A tank hauled down from the pedestal in Kaunas on which it stood as a memorable witness to the defeat of Nazism in the Great Patriotic War. The slogan Down with the CPSU! which was borne at a demonstration in Vilnius and obligingly translated into English on neighboring banners.

Development in the Soviet Baltic republics is being talked and written about in the country with increasing alarm. I am not talking only about the opinions and points of view of the mass media. Recently, I have made several visits to Soviet families. Hardly had the conversation got around to the Baltic republics than my hosts began to spead words filled with anxiety. What will happen next? What are all the Latvians, Lithuanians, and Estonians really thinking? What do the extremists in these republics intend? Will the Baltic people really fall in behind separatist, extremist slogans borne by political speculators whose main program is anti-Sovietism? No one wants to believe that the nationalists will succeed in wiping out everything from the minds of the Baltic people which naturally unites the Soviet republics, that they will succeed in erasing the internationalism of the Soviet nations.

"It is extremely strange, even painful, to listen to speeches on the withdrawal of the Baltic republics from the USSR framework. Who wants this, whom will it benefit?" asks M. Krutsinson, member of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and a meritorious member of the CPSU, on the pages of PRAVDA where she expresses her profound conviction that similar decisions would only harm Latvians, Lithuanians, and Estonians.

But in the end, even realists in the West do not see anything more than a damaging destructive intention, which would dangerously destabilize Soviet internal development and, at the same time, doubtless, the overall international situation by the implementation of the idea to separate the republics from the USSR.

Observers have discerned among U.S. diplomats in Moscow the opinion that the idea of separating the Baltic republics from the USSR is "naive." Even Western entrepreneurs are not at all burning with the desire to create illusions among extremists in the Baltics. Recently at a conference in Riga, the leaders of the so-called Movement for the National Independence of Latvia, to their great surprise, had to listen to this directly from the mouths of the Western experts, whom they had invited. The experts made it absolutely clear: Western governments and businessmen are interested in stable cooperation with a stable Soviet Union....

Development in the republics during the past few months has created the impression that the leadership of the republics' party organizations feels itself to be on the defensive, that it has vacated its fundamental ideological positions, and that, gradually, it is more and more getting into the tow of unconstructive forces, into the tow of the stream heading toward a confrontationist atmosphere with the "center" and with "Moscow" to whom bad will is attributed in resolving current problems in the relationship between the center and the republics, and so on.

Meanwhile, legislative organs in the Baltics have adopted acts that are a direct violation of the Soviet Constitution. The attempts to introduce a discriminatory election law sharply contradict the idea of intensifying the democratization of political life in the USSR. In the Baltics it has become apparent that various forces are attempting, in all conceivable ways, to misuse

democratization directly against restructuring by intensifying the wave of chauvinism and by attacking the CPSU, the Soviet Army, and security units.

For the extremists, national sentiments have become the means for a dirty game with an anti-Soviet subtext. In a situation in which the Baltic states, as the first region in the USSR, were given the possibility of developing regional management accountability, when the platform of national policy submitted to general discussion opened up a broad program for the practical implementation of Leninist ideas in the construction of Soviet federalism, in the situation in which the main thing that restructuring and the whole country needs most of all is hard, concentrated, and constructive work, these antirestructuring forces in the Baltic republics are doing their utmost to detract from such work and are fostering mass passions and old wrongs.

Therefore, the CPSU statement on the situation in the Baltics has become a serious document pronounced at a serious time. It is an appeal to reason, to civic responsibility, to party honor, and to the idea of internationalism. The spirit of the statement is itself important: there are no threats in it, there is no pressure of force in it. However, it contains a frank and honest analysis of the situation and its possible consequences. The document puts it clearly—to go further in the direction into which the extremists are pushing the Baltics would mean heading straight for catastrophe.

Polish TV Accused of Distorting News Item

AU3008133289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Aug 89 p 7

["pm"-signed commentary: "For the Sake of Accuracy"]

[Text] Saturday night, Polish television commentator Karol Szyndzielorz devoted a considerable portion of his "The World This Week" program to Czechoslovak issues. He also quoted RUDE PRAVO, which, as he said, supposedly wrote that the Polish Government headed by a Solidarity representative was a nail in the coffin of the leading role of the Polish United Workers Party.

What RUDE PRAVO actually wrote (on 19 August) was the following: "Solidarity officials have expressed satisfaction over current political developments in the country. 'This is the last nail in the coffin of the Communist Party's leading role,' Solidarity spokesman Janusz Onyszkiewicz declared." So much for RUDE PRAVO's quote.

Three days before Szyndzielorz, the same attempt was made by a correspondent for the American UPI agency, B. Turek. During a news conference with Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Turek ascribed Onyszkiewicz's sentence to RUDE PRAVO and even presented it as our newspaper's standpoint. Unlike Turek, however, K. Szyndzielorz knows Czech very well. He worked in Prague as Polish correspondent for several years. It is a pity that he did not verify the cited text directly from the pages of RUDE PRAVO. It would not have cost much effort, for the sake of accuracy, above all.

Foreign Participation in Prague Rally Condemned

AU2808125789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Aug 89 p 2

[Jarmila Houfova article: "For Knowledge, For Beauty, or For What?"]

[Text] Indisputably, Czechoslovakia is among the countries that have a traditional and rich tourist season. Unique cultural and historical monuments, natural beauty, and not least, a hospitable people attract millions of tourists from the East and from the West, from all over the world, to our country every year. We invest a great deal in tourism and we try to be good hosts in all respects. We are known for this throughout the world and foreigners staying in our country do not conceal their admiration and many of them come again and again.

Every host, if he wants to be a good host, has his own rules of conduct toward his guests. They are laid down by a common, socio-ethical norm and are valid throughout the civilized world and, furthermore, they are even accentuated by a national mentality. Hospitality is indeed intrinsic to our people.

However, not only every host but also every guest should, as far as possible, have the same rules of conduct. If he breaks them, he stops being a guest. This has happened in an unprecedented manner during these days in the republic's capital city, in Prague.

As we reported in Thursday's [24 August] RUDE PRAVO, the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs recently lodged a protest with representatives from the Embassies of Italy, the Netherlands, the Hungarian People's Republic, and the Polish People's Republic against the participation by citizens of these countries in an unauthorized demonstration which took place in the center of Prague on 21 August. It was emphasized to the abovementioned representatives that their citizens had abused their tourists' residency for activities incompatible with the development of contact between people, as established in the Final Document of the Vienna meeting. Our security and order enforcement organs proceeded in complete accordance with our laws while maintaining public order and peace. Concerning the arrests of some foreign nationals, it has been stated that by their behavior they broke laws whose adherence is required by every sovereign state. These cases are being dealt with in accordance with the Czechoslovak Penal Code and international agreements. So much for the note, at least briefly.

It is known that some "tourists" had prepared for their performance in Prague in advance and both American radio stations (Voice of America and Radio Free Europe) reported their arrival. It simply was not by

chance that they found themselves in the middle of a demonstration on 21 August; the event had been planned.

Let us ask the question: Do our citizens travel to foreign countries and interfere in their internal affairs? We have never come across such a case.

Each country has its own problems and resolves them in its own way. No country would permit such a gross abuse of tourism.

Tuesday's [22 August] edition of the Budapest evening paper, ESTI HIRLAP, rightly objected to the participation by a group of Hungarian citizens in the demonstration in Prague. "We can recognize that one adopts a point of view on events in one's own country or in the world and expresses this view," wrote the Budapest evening paper and added: "Strong doubts are being aroused in many of us about whether someone has the right to interfere in the affairs of a neighboring country because he travels there." ESTI HIRLAP comments that today in Hungary "nothing else is being spoken about other than that no one should attempt to interfere in Hungary's internal affairs...." Let us add that this is a correct principle. However, other countries also have a right to this principle.

Let us even recall Saturday's [19 August] TRYBUNA LUDU commentary which was entitled It Is Good to Have Friends Close By. In it the Polish newspaper refers to the extraordinary significance of Poland's good relations with its closest neighbors. It emphasized that the creation of and respect for good neighborly relations is conditional upon respecting political, economic, and other criteria and it unequivocally takes exception to the attempts by certain forces in contemporary Poland—as it put it—"to export" their own convictions on the superiority of the decisions of one state over those of others. A fundamental condition arises from this—noninterference in the affairs of other states, stressed TRYBUNA LUDU.

These are sensible views which are acceptable to everyone.

It has been emphasized more than once that our public requires peace and order to carry out its work, that we need to mobilize the forces of the whole of society to implement the restructuring of the economic system and the democratization of our lives. The fate of restructuring is not being decided on the streets but, first and foremost, at each workplace, everywhere where work creates the prerequisites for the further development of our society.

Finally, some of the "tourists" who performed in a loutish manner for us in Prague perhaps themselves know best how and where problems must be solved. No one anywhere has yet come up with anything better than honest and responsible work.

Foreign Interest in'68 Anniversary Criticized

AU2508170589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Aug 89 p 7

[Jaroslav Kojzar commentary: "Prague: A City of Terror?"]

[Text] Never before had the anniversary of the August events attracted so much attention abroad as it did this year. It is not surprising that some foreign circles showed a heightened interest, circles which have, so to speak, a psychological war against the socialist countries written into their job description. This time, some extremists from among the ranks of supporters of Polish Solidarity also joined in the international campaign of provocation. Solidarity not only organized several demonstrations close to our border but, as we have already reported, dispatched a sizable "delegation" to Prague. A similar "representation" was organized by the Hungarian youth organization, FIDESZ, which in its political platform sets out its aim of withdrawing the Hungarian People's Republic from CEMA and the Warsaw Pact.

At the end of last week and at the beginning of this week, a number of Western mass media attempted (let us add truthfully, however, that they did this hand in hand with some newspapers in Poland and Hungary) to escalate the atmosphere of tension around the CSSR. Attempts to whip up fear and descriptions of Prague and other Czechoslovak cities as war camps were not left out. "Prague gives the impression of being a city under siege, a city in which martial law has been declared... An atmosphere as if revolution were about to break out today prevails in the city," claimed B. Coudenhove-Kalergi on 21 August at 0700 on Radio Austria 1. The French Press Agency, AFP, and the West German newspaper, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, even spread scare-mongering reports about the danger of "fire-arms" being used in Prague. The Austrian press envisaged "civil war" (the APA press agency and the newspaper, DER STANDARD). "Official authorities (?) have warned residents and foreign visitors to avoid Wenceslas Square and, if possible, the whole of Prague...." (MAGYAR HIRLAP 21 August). However, the Italian newspaper, L'UNITA, indulged in the most errant nonsense when in a report from Prague on 21 August it claimed that "there is talk of a staged assassination attempt (!!) against security forces units (the murder of a member of the police force) which would serve as a pretext for a comprehensive crackdown." It was even possible to read about barricades—in a report from the REUTER news agency on 20 August.

On Sunday [20 August], as we know, there was absolute calm. Yet according to the prophesies of the foreign press and the intentions of the dissidents, thousands of people should have taken part in a march in Wenceslas Square on that day. However, thousands of people interested in the monuments, ice cream, and souvenirs were walking as usual along this central thoroughfare and were sitting on the benches with their cameras.

However, this was a merely superficial calm, as the foreign sources reported. As an official in the FIDESZ organization reported to an editor of Hungarian radio, allegedly, "organizers" from among the ranks of domestic dissidents held secret meetings with foreign "delegations" on Charles Bridge and in the U Fleku restaurant where, allegedly, they passed on further instructions for the events planned for 21 August.

Monday began normally. During the early evening hours, as we have already reported, an attempt was made to disturb the peace in the center of Prague. At last there was something to write about although it was far from the previously planned scenario. A mass demonstration did not take place but even here there were huge flights of fancy, judging by the efforts to exaggerate the number of participants. The REUTER news agency reporter and the British newspaper, THE GUARDIAN, with a figure of 1,500 people tallied with our estimate. The Italian newspaper, LA REPUBBLICA, gave a figure of 10,000 and the Hungarian newspaper, MAGYAR HIRLAP, crowned everything with the claim that "the slogan 'Long live Hungarians, long live Hungary!' was chanted by 50,000-70,000 (!) demonstrators..." How can this foreign interest about events in our country be explained?

We are a stabilized state which is gradually resolving its own problems. Without crises and upheavels. We do not want to and we will not embark upon the road of the elimination of socialist values and the disruption of social security. We have learned our lesson—Munich and the betrayal by our allies at that time. We have also learned our lesson from 1968. We have drawn the only conclusion possible for our future. That future is the path of socialist development and alliance with the Soviet Union and the family of socialist countries.

This is the reason for such interest in Czechoslovakia, for the attempt to disrupt our development, to slow it down, to reverse it, to lead our country away from a constructive program, from order toward chaos, from the development of socialism toward its dismantling.

Bishops Consecrated in Litomerice, Olomouc

AU3008133589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Aug 89 p 2

["ml,rc,CTK"-signed report: "Consecration of New Bishops"]

[Text] Olomouc/Litomerice (From our correspondents and CTK)—Saturday and Sunday [26 and 27 August], the ceremonial events of consecration of two new bishops of the Roman Catholic Church took place in the cathedrals of Olomouc and Litomerice. Suffragan Bishop Antonin Liska consecrated Frantisek Vanak, doctor of theology, as bishop-apostolic administrator of the Olomouc archdiocese and Frantisek Tomasek, archbishop of Prague, consecrated Josef Koukl, doctor of theology, as bishop of the Litomerice diocese.

The ceremonies were attended by a delegation of the Czechoslovak state administration led by Frantisek Jelinek, deputy minister of culture of the Czech Socialist Republic and director of the Secretariat for Church Affairs of the Czech Socialist Republic, and by some prominent foreign guests headed by Apostolic Nuncio Archbishop Francesco Colasuonno.

The installation of the two new high dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church was attended also by representatives of other Czechoslovak churches and religious communities.

Army 'Order of Day' on Uprising Anniversary

AU3008130989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Aug 89 p 2

[CTK report: "From the Minister of National Defense's Order of the Day"]

[Text] Prague—Army General Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense, issued an order of the day on the 45th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising. Among other things, the order of the day reads:

The past 45 years since the Slovak National Uprising have confirmed that the sacrifices and efforts expended were not in vain. They brought freedom and a better life to our peoples and nationalities as well as clear and long-lasting prospects. A new socialist Czechoslovakia evolved and in it, a modern comprehensively developed Slovakia.

Presently our society sees the continuation of the socialist revolution and the development of the legacy of the national liberation struggle in the implementation of the program of the comprehensive restructuring of all spheres of social life.

Thanks to the foreign policy of the USSR, the CSSR, and other countries in the socialist community, favorable tendencies are being asserted in political and military detente and in the development of cooperation between nations. However, the world situation remains complicated and antagonistic. The intensification of imperialism's psychological war against the socialist countries and its attempts to destabilize them make the situation worse. All this commits members of the Czechoslovak People's Army to increase their political vigilance, to thoroughly implement the tasks of restructuring and reorganization, and to intensify the Army's ties with the people. In close cooperation with the armies of the Warsaw Pact member states it is necessary to increase combat readiness and preparedness in order to ensure the reliable defense of peace and socialism.

Slovak Uprising Meeting Greets Soviet People

AU2908123789 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 Aug 89 p 1

["Greetings to the Soviet People From the Celebrations Marking the 45th Anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising"]

[Text] Dear Soviet comrades and friends!

We regard the 45th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising, which we have come to commemorate in its heartland, in insurgent Banska Bystrica, as an opportunity to convey our gratitude to the fraternal Soviet people and to the nations of the USSR for the assistance which they provided during those fateful times 45 years ago to the fighters of the Slovak National Uprising in their struggle against the German occupiers and the domestic clerico-fascist regime.

The heroic deeds of the Soviet soldiers and partisans and the magnitude of the moral, political, and material assistance which they provided for our nations' national liberation struggle are forever engraved in the memory of our people. With profound piety we bow before the memorial to those who sacrificed their lives for freedom. We hand down from generation to generation testimony of their bravery and heroism, testimony about the common shedding of blood in the Slovak mountains, in Dukla, and in other places in our homeland. We will never forget that the friendship and fraternity between the peoples of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union was strengthened and sealed during this joint struggle. During this period, our people's warm relationship with the country of the Soviets, a relationship which today we still fully cherish, was developed.

The aid given by the Soviet Union to our national liberation struggle during the years of the Second World War and its heroic liberation mission helped to successfully develop the process of profound revolutionary change in our country, a change begun by the Slovak National Uprising and which culminated in the victory of the Czechoslovak people in February 1948. Friendship, cooperation, and alliance with the Soviet Union developed in the spirit of the legacy of the national liberation struggle and on the firm basis of common interest and aims have been during four and a half decades an important factor in remodeling the old social order and in the socialist advancement of our society.

We perceive the life-giving strength of this friendship and alliance at present while fulfilling our joint tasks of restructuring and democratization. We wish the Soviet people much success in resolving the tasks of the present stage of the development of socialism in the USSR. At the same time, we add our voice in support of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies Mission to the nations of the world. We are resolved to ensure that the upcoming period in the history of mankind is a period of lasting peace, progress, understanding, and cooperation.

True to the legacy of the Slovak National Uprising, we will strive for the further comprehensive development of cooperation between the people of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. We will do everything to forge this legacy into concrete deeds for the benefit of the qualitative advancement of socialism and for the prosperity of our motherland.

Long live the glorious memory of the fighters against fascism for freedom, peace, and social advancement!
Let friendship and cooperation between the CSSR and USSR peoples strengthen and develop!
Long live socialism and peace!
Banska Bystrica 26 August 1989
Participants of the nationwide celebrations marking the 45th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising.

Discussion on Slovak National Uprising

AU2408153289

[Editorial Report] Under the headline "The Beginning of National and Democratic Revolution," Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on page 3 and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on page 3 on 22 August both carry a 4,000-word roundtable discussion on the Slovak National Uprising, in connection with its forthcoming 45th anniversary. The participants in the undated discussion, moderated by RUDE PRAVO deputy chief editor Jaroslav Kojzar, are historians, journalists, as well as uprising participants.

The panelists discuss the significance of the uprising and emphasize the role of the Communist Party of Slovakia as its "main organizer." They are also asked to respond to various "distortions" about the uprising reportedly being spread by Western propaganda and emigre historians. For example, Historian Dusan Halaj is asked to respond to "some letters from our readers, who ask whether we do not exaggerate the significance of the Slovak National Uprising in the context of our modern history." Halaj denies this, arguing that the uprising was a "turning point" in the history of the Czech and Slovak peoples and that, despite its military defeat, "politically it definitely triumphed." He stresses that the uprising did not concern just the 60,000 soldiers and 12,000 to 17,000 partisans who participated in military operations, but that "the majority of the nation became involved in it in one way or another." It needs to be realized, Halaj says, that "it was not an armed struggle by a handful of people, but mass resistance put up by broad popular masses." Historian Stefansky subscribes to this view, pointing out that the uprising was an "all-people's antifascist uprising," the "best prepared" such uprising in Europe. He argues that the program of the uprising, which later found its reflection in the Kosice Government Program of 1945, made the uprising "the beginning of the national and democratic revolution" in Czechoslovakia.

The panelists also respond to the claim of an unnamed emigre historian that Czechoslovak propaganda strongly exaggerates the Soviet Union's role in the uprising and that "the Soviet Union's assistance to the uprising was

minimal, which is why it ended in defeat." In their replies, the panelists cite various facts to demonstrate that "no one did more for the uprising than the Soviet Union." Halaj refers to the air bridge between liberated parts of the Soviet Union and the Slovak rebels' territory, which the Soviet Union maintained throughout September and October 1944 and through which 2,000 Czechoslovak soldiers and almost 640 tonnes of weapons, ammunition, and other material were brought to Slovakia. He also emphasizes the significance of the Carpathian-Dukla operation, "the main military assistance" extended to the rebels, and the presence of some 3,000 armed Soviet citizens on Slovak territory during the uprising. Historian Stefansky also discusses the assistance which the uprising received from "the Americans." He says: "In 1984, the then American ambassador to Czechoslovakia wrote an article about American assistance to the Slovak National Uprising. Of great help was the bombing of the 'Novy Dvur' airfield near Malacky where U.S. pilots destroyed practically all German aircraft. Had this not happened, the activity of the German air force would have been substantially greater and would have caused considerable damage and heavy losses to the rebels. Objectively, however, we must also say that it was our rebel intelligence officers who ascertained information on the 'Novy Dvur' airfield and passed it on to the Americans. Regarding the Americans' assistance in the form of medical supplies to the 'Three Oaks' airfield, on the other hand, this assistance was minimal. When they brought their mission to the rebels' territory, they came, in fact, to pick up their pilots who had been shot down over the rebels' territory."

Asked whether further research can produce new insights into the uprising, Stefansky says that historians would benefit from access to Soviet archives. He also suggests that the question be studied whether it was the rebels' predominantly "defensive struggle" which contributed to their defeat. The panelists also note that researchers' attention should focus on some hitherto "insufficiently researched" aspects, such as "to what degree the German fascist command knew about the rebels' intentions and managed to decode their messages," and the participation of Czech nationals in the uprising.

WFTU'S Zakaria on Cutting Defense Budgets

LD2808114589 Prague CTK in English 0958 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 28 (CTK)—Trade unions for practical disarmament and Through disarmament for development—these are slogans under which this year's 8th Day of Trade Union Actions for Peace (September 1) will take place, secretary-general of the World Federation of Trade Unions [WFTU] Ibrahim Zakaria has told CTK.

He pointed out that this year's September 1 is of extraordinary significance as on this day World War II broke out 50 years ago. That is why the world public opinion should further mobilize to avert the arms race, he said, adding that more than 16,000,000 million dollars have been wasted on the arms race since 1960, and at present almost 20,000 million dollars are spend on this purpose every week. In experts' opinion, cuts in military expenditures in the world by one third, i.e. about 330,000 million dollars, would help create some 179 million working opportunities in the spheres serving the benefit of mankind for ten years, Ibrahim Zakaria said.

On the other hand, he pointed to the efforts of militaristic circles to increase military spendings and speed up development of new kinds of weapons.

That is why trade unions call upon states to pledge on the basis of the first steps towards nuclear disarmament and the continuing talks on the control of armament and troop cuts in Europe not to increase their military outlays, Ibrahim Zakaria said, adding that at least ten per cent of the amount spent on armament should be transferred immediately to investments in the industry and services. The WFTU leader expressed support for the thesis of former director- general of the International Labour Organization (ILO) that a global twenty-per cent cut in military outlays would contribute effectively to activation of the world economics.

He said he believed that workers and trade unions could contribute through their mass actions mobilizing the public opinion to actual peace orientation of the world economics, ensuring of world peace and better life for all nations all over the world, Ibrahim Zakaria underlined.

National Tourist Income Statistics Published

AU3008125589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Aug 89 p 2

[Ladislav Alster article: "CSSR Income From Tourism"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The statistics of the last few years show that some 24 million foreign visitors cross Czechoslovak borders every year. Although this number looks quite remarkable at first glance, most of these visitors come only for a day or a short period of time. The CSSR earns from foreign tourism some Kcs9 billion a year, of which only Kcs2 billion is in freely convertible currencies, however.

The average foreign currency income per foreign visitor has been in the range of $60 to $70 in recent years, which is relatively little and confirms the view that it is not exactly the wealthiest Westerners who visit Czechoslovakia. The European average is $280 per person and the world average even as much as $330. [passage omitted]

At the beginning of this year the department of domestic trade and tourism switched to the new economic mechanism. According to preliminary information, there should be a substantial improvement in income from tourism this year. But it will be wiser to wait for the end of the year.

U.S. Tenneco Company Purchases CSSR License

AU3008120589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Aug 89 p 1

["ms"-signed report: "Our Contribution to the Solution of Ecological Problems"]

[Summary] Prague (Our correspondent)—An agreement on the sale of a Czechoslovak license for a chemical process called Praxo which converts natural soda into a material capable of removing harmful substances from the atmosphere—for example, waste gases which come into being during burning sulfurous fuels—was signed by representatives of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and the Tenneco Minerals Company of the United States in Prague on 28 August.

Active soda is acquired from the mineral trona, which does not exist in the CSSR, whereas the United States has rich trona deposits. This is one of the reason why this process cannot be made use of in the CSSR, and importing the necessary raw material would be unprofitable.

By the sale of the license, the CSSR will receive 2-4 percent of the total production volume income in hard currency and, in addition, gain access to the data bank of its U.S. partner, which contains information about 20,000 advanced technologies.

Comparison on Hungarian Leadership 'Standpoint'

AU1808130489

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 17 August on page 7 carries a 280-word CTK Budapest dispatch, entitled "They Are Helping Antisocialist Forces," on the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] leadership's statement on the forthcoming anniversary of the events in Czechoslovakia in August 1968. Comparison with the item headlined "Further on Views Regarding 1968 Intervention" and subheaded "Prague Reports MSZMP 'Standpoint'" published in the 17 August East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 8, column one, shows the two versions to be identical, except for the following variations:

First paragraph, beginning of item reads: ...[Text] Budapest (CTK)—MTI press agency published yesterday a standpoint of the Political Executive Committee of the...(changing date information, changing "consultative" to "executive");

Paragraph two, last sentence to paragraph three, first sentence reads: ...respect and understanding. [new graf]

Despite this claim—and this is being confirmed by the first reactions—the standpoint of the Political Executive Committee of the... (deleting third person interpolation, changing "consultative" to "executive," rephrasing);

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 17 August on page 7, under the headline "Standpoint of the MSZMP Leadership," carries a 200-word "CTK.zr"-signed "abridged" version of the Bratislava PRAVDA item. The RUDE PRAVO version of the concluding paragraph, which contains criticism of the MSZMP statement, reads: "Despite this claim—and this is being confirmed by the first reactions—the published standpoint of the MSZMP Political Executive Committee objectively helps antisocialist forces, which want to misuse the events of the year 1968, in contradiction with the historical truth."

Honecker Reported To Be 'Convalescing Well'

AU3108111489 Paris AFP in English 1102 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Excerpts] Vienna, Aug 31 (AFP)—Austria is temporarily lifting its visa requirement for East Germans so thousands of refugees stuck in Budapest can make their way to West Germany, the Interior Ministry said Thursday. The announcement came amid reports that up to 20,000 East Germans are waiting in the Hungarian capital and may be trucked across the border on special trains as early as this weekend.

Meanwhile in Budapest it was announced that Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn had gone to East Berlin for talks on the refugee problem. [passage omitted]

A Hungarian Foreign Ministry official in Budapest said at least 1,500 East Germans are stuck there. But other sources gave widely varying estimates of between 5,000 and 20,000. [passage omitted]

In Budapest, a Hungarian Foreign Ministry official dismissed as "absurd" reports in West Germany that the huge influx could occur this weekend. Laszlo Kovacs, secretary of state at the ministry, said: "some 1,500 East German citizens have announced their intention not to return to their homeland". However he noted some 100,000 East Germans were in Hungary as tourists and others currently wanted to enter from Romania and Bulgaria, and conceded "We are incapable of estimating how many of these will announce that they do not plan to return home".

In Bonn, Chancellor Helmut Kohl's closest aide warned that East German leaders' inflexibility over the refugee issue threatened to seriously handicap relations between the two countries. On Wednesday a spokesman for Bonn said the deadlock could be due to East German leader Erich Honecker's ill health. [passage omitted] West German newspapers Thursday revived reports that Mr Honecker is seriously ill. Some newspapers said an operation on his gall bladder two weeks ago had failed. They also said his diabetes had worsened. A fortnight ago West German papers said he was suffering from cancer.

However an East German Foreign Ministry spokesman told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE Thursday Mr Honecker was convalescing well. But he was unable to say if the East German leader will attend Sunday's opening of an industrial fair in the central city of Leipzig.

Sindermann, Fischer To Address People's Chamber

LD3108082989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0200 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—There will be an extraordinary meeting of the GDR People's Chamber on Friday, 1 September 1989, at 1100 in Berlin, to mark the 50th anniversary of the start of World War II. It will be opened by People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann, who will give a speech in memory of the millions of war victims. Foreign Affairs Minister Oskar Fischer will give an address on behalf of the GDR Government.

The people's chamber meeting will be broadcast live on television and radio.

USSR Communications Minister Visits, Talks

AU3008142189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Aug 89 p 2

[ADN report: "GDR and USSR Communications Ministers Meet"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Monday [28 August] Rudolph Schulze, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and minister of posts and telecommunications, had a friendly talk with Erlen Pervyshin, USSR minister of communications equipment industry, on topical tasks of the development of the communications sector in the two countries. The focal issues were questions of ensuring high quality of postal and telecommunications services on the basis of scientific-technological targets. Both ministers stressed the necessity of further intensive cooperation within the framework of the existing bilateral and multilateral agreements.

Technology Projects Discussed

LD3008150389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0925 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Continuing long-term fruitful relations, Felix Meier, GDR minister for Electrical Engineering and Electronics, and Erlen Pervyshin, USSR minister of the Communications Equipment Industry, held discussions on Wednesday in Berlin on the intensification of the joint work to create a unified system of message-switching technology in the GDR and the USSR.

At the center of the discussion were the organizing of research cooperation projects, the application of GDR computer technology, and the production and supply of modern telephone exchanges. The joint activities are based on agreements which have proven themselves to mutual advantage and which are to be laid down more precisely for 1991-1995 period.

SED Delegation Visits Irkutsk, Exchanges Views

AU3008201289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Aug 89 p 5

[ADN report: "SED Delegation Held Exchange of Views in Irkutsk"]

[Text] Irkutsk (ADN)—The relations between the Irkutsk Oblast and Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk are developing in the spirit of agreements, which were concluded by the general secretaries of the Central Committees of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and the

CPSU, Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev, as a result of their meetings in 1988 and 1989. This was stressed during an exchange of views between Siegfried Lorenz, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk leadership, and Vladimir Potapov, first secretary of the Irkutsk Oblast Party Committee, in the eastern Siberian city on Monday [28 August]. Siegfried Lorenz had arrived in Irkutsk that same day at the head of an SED delegation. During the meeting, the two politicians noted that friendly and effective cooperation has developed between the party organizations and the citizens of the two regions.

For more than 2 decades close relations of friendship have existed between the Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk SED leadership and the Irkutsk Oblast Party Committee.

FRG Sentencing of Antiwar Activists Criticized

AU3008143289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Aug 89 p 2

["W.M." editorial: "Chemical Weapons and Prison Sentences"]

[Text] Those who observe the work of the FRG courts, will notice a remarkable expansion of their sphere of activities: While antinuclear demonstrators have been massively sentenced for years, now it is the turn of the opponents of chemical weapons. Among the most prominent recent victims are theology professor Dorothee Soelle and pedagogical sciences professor Werner Esslinger, who had called for the elimination of all such weapons on FRG territory in a demonstration in front of the U.S. depot in Fischbach. The sentencing, Professor Esslinger said in court, is in clear contrast to the negotiations on a worldwide ban on chemical weapons in Geneva.

Indeed. Since the negotiations started in Geneva 6 years ago, the FRG has always posed as an advocate of such a convention. And when the GDR and the CSSR proposed the establishment of a chemical-weapons-free zone in central Europe 4 years ago, Bonn stated that it wanted to eliminate these barbaric chemical weapons not only in the center of Europe but all over the world. Of course, the addressee of our proposal knew very well that a regional solution is no substitute for a global one, but it should be one step toward its realization. Thus, for years the FRG has engaged in purposeful optimism, claiming that an agreement in Geneva was impending, even though the U.S. chemical concerns almost thwarted the Geneva negotiations with their veto against any control.

The convention has still not been concluded in Geneva. If all participants fulfill the obligations they incurred at the Paris chemical-weapons conference at the beginning of the year without any if's and but's, in November they might begin to clarify the still open key questions.

Concerning the situation in the center of Europe, there are chemical weapons in the GDR and the CSSR. In contrast to the United States, the USSR, which is making every preparation to abolish these weapons, does not have any such weapons deployed on the territories of its allies. Thus, in central Europe such weapons only come from the production of those concerns that do not want to see any control. Those who wanted to keep these U.S. depots laid themselves wide open to the suspicion that they include the potential use of these terrible weapons against people in their calculations. The sentencing of the professors and of the other opponents of chemical weapons in the FRG does not do away with such suspicion.

Ambassador Meyer on Interest in Southern Africa

LD3008125489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0919 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—All steps and initiatives being undertaken at present to defuse the conflicts in southern Africa are being followed with great attention in the GDR. This was stated by Ambassador Wolfgang Meyer, spokesman of the GDR Ministry for Foreign Affairs, on Wednesday in Berlin.

Special significance is being accorded, for example, to the declaration adopted by the most recent meeting of the ad hoc committee of the Organization for African Unity on southern Africa. The GDR agreed with the basic position contained in it that "all conflicts can be settled by negotiation according to the principle of justice and peace for all."

The spokesman said further that the GDR viewed the talk between Zambian President Kaunda, who is also chairman of the Frontline States, and Acting South African State President De Klerk, as an element in the efforts to give new impulses to the process of a political settlement which has already begun. This expectation also accompanies the contacts between the Zairian President Mobutu and De Klerk.

This is all the more important as the breaking of the armistice agreement in Angola by UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] is endangering what has been achieved by great effort up to now. Political settlements in complicated questions are also only to be achieved by means of goodwill, reason, and realism, and by taking into account the legitimate interests of all sides involved in the conflict.

The GDR is confident the conflict settlement introduced in South-West Africa, which necessitated a consistent realization of UN Security Council Resolution 435, will have positive effects on the development in peace, security, and sovereign equality of all peoples in the region. In this regard, the spokesman affirmed the standpoint of the GDR that the elimination of apartheid is indispensable for this.

GDR Refugee Problem Described as 'Unpleasant'

AU3008190989 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1700 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Interview with Hungarian Interior Minister Istvan Horvath by ZDF correspondent Wolfgang Juengst "this afternoon"; place not given; statements by Horvath in Hungarian with superimposed German translation—recorded]

[Text] [Juengst] Mr Minister, in order to solve the refugee problem here in Hungary, the FRG proposes abolishing compulsory visas so that all Hungarians can enter the FRG without visas. Do you consider this a possible way to solve the refugee problem here in Hungary?

[Horvath] We have supported the abolition of compulsory visas between the FRG and Hungary for a long time. However, this does not solve the problems of those GDR citizens who are staying in our country.

[Juengst] However, what does this mean for those GDR citizens who want to go to the FRG? Let us assume that East Berlin maintains its intransigent position. Does this mean that those GDR citizens who do not want to return to the GDR will remain in Hungary until East Berlin gives the go-ahead for their exit to the FRG?

[Horvath] For us the present situation at the border is very unpleasant. Also unpleasant for us is the situation of those GDR citizens who are staying in Budapest and want to travel to the FRG. We want to find a solution to this problem because we will certainly not forcibly extradite these people to the GDR. Moreover, the fact that they are staying here for a long time without residence permits is also unpleasant. All countries involved will undoubtedly have to seek a solution that is acceptable, normal, and adequate for European society so that these people can leave Hungary, and, if they wish to do so, go to the FRG.

MTI Notes Horvath Remarks on Refugees

LD3108082889 Budapest MTI in English 0700 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Text] Bonn, August 31 (MTI)—Countries concerned will have to find an acceptable solution, conforming to European norms and culture, in allowing the East German citizens to depart from Hungary also to the FRG if they so wish, it was reported to the West German TV station ZDF, by Istvan Horvath, Hungarian minister of interior.

Hungary has been urging the abolishing of the visa obligation with the FRG over a long period, however this would bring no solution to the present problem of GDR refugees.

"We find the present situation at the country's borders to be highly unpleasant and inconvenient, including the fact that these East German citizens are staying in Budapest. Hungary intends to find a solution and it is also certain that these persons will not be sent back to the GDR. It is however very inconvenient for these people to be staying here over a prolonged period of time without a residence permit" it was emphasized by Mr Horvath.

Juergen Chrobog, spokesman of the West German Foreign Affairs Bureau termed as unfounded, the report by REUTER news agency on Hungary's readiness to furnish the GDR citizens with exist permits and that West German passports would be provided by the Budapest Embassy of the FRG.

In this connection Mr Chrobog recalled the press release of the FRG foreign Affairs Bureau following the recent Bonn visit by Miklos Nemeth, prime minister. According to the Hungarian standpoint included in this document, the problem of the GDR citizens should ultimately be solved by the GDR and the FRG. Nevertheless, the Hungarian Government is ready to give every assistance for an early solution.

Kovacs Makes Statement on Refugee Issue

LD3008223489 Budapest MTI in English 2045 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 30 (MTI)—Contrary to rumours that began in the FRG on Wednesday, the compulsory visa system is not to be cancelled between Hungary and the FRG for the time being, and it is by far not the case that 15,000 GDR citizens will be allowed to leave Hungary during the weekend, Laszlo Kovacs, foreign affairs state secretary told MTI. There are no talks under way between Hungary and the FRG on the abolition of compulsory visas, and it was not initiated by the FRG, he added.

He stressed that should the compulsory visa system be abolished, it would not in the least promote the issue of the GDR citizens who wish to resettle in the FRG. He underlined that although it is Hungary that needs a solution most urgently it should be found by the two German states.

He said that according to the knowledge of Hungarian diplomacy some 1,500 GDR citizens in Hungary have announced their intention not to return to their homeland. Thus it seems absurd to suppose that the country would plan the release of 15,000 GDR citizens. Apart from the fact that this number is inaccurate, Hungary is bound by a bilateral agreement with the GDR. Accordingly, Hungary will not allow GDR citizens to go to countries for which they have no valid travelling documents. The Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has proposed to the GDR side to modify the agreement. It is the intention of Hungary to initiate the review of bilateral agreements made with other socialist states, as the country has joined the UN Refugee Convention.

This would however require more time so it would be of no avail in the present situation. There is a possibility in

principle for cancelling this agreement yet this would enter effect only in three months time.

The state secretary pointed out that for the time being there are no negotiations under way on a modification and a one-sided cancellation of the agreement is not in the interests of the Hungarian side as it would cause further tension. Hungary wishes to reach the opposite—reinforcement of its relations with its allies.

Mr Kovacs said the affair of the GDR citizens who wanted to resettle in the FRG brought about an extraordinary situation in Hungary. There are problems from the points of view of public order, security and public health, and the Hungarian Government has approved of the setting up of camps by the Red Cross and the Order of the Knights of Malta. With the change in the weather for the worse, however, the camps are not suitable accomodation.

At the same time, some 100,000 GDR tourists are in Hungary at present and many of them want to return home from Bulgaria and Romania via Hungary. We cannot even give a rough estimate how many of them will announce their intention not to go home. This would bring the Hungarian authorities a totally absurd situation, he said.

Finally, the situation on the Hungarian-Austrian border is extremely dangerous because of the violent attempts every day to cross the border. The border guard may only use weapons for self-defence. There has already been one fatal accident, and should these attempts continue it is not impossible that further tragedies will occur. However, the Hungarian authorities do not intend to send back the GDR citizens who do not want to return.

Kovacs Welcomes FRG Visa Abolition Proposal

LD2808131689 Hamburg DPA in German 1119 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Excerpt] Budapest (DPA)—Laszlo Kovacs, state secretary in the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, today welcomed the proposal from the CDU/CSU [Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union] parliamentary group's spokesman on Germany policy, Eduard Lintner, that compulsory visas between the Federal Republic and Hungary be abolished. At the same time, he noted that, legally, the situation of the GDR refugees in Hungary would not be defused by this measure, since they did not have an entry stamp on their Federal German passports, which were issued by the Federal Republic.

Kovacs referred to the fact that persons from countries for which the compulsory visa for Hungary had been abolished must have a valid entry stamp in order to stay in Hungary legally. Over the weekend the Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn stressed that Hungary could not accept Federal German passports issued to GDR citizens, since this was a violation of GDR sovereignty. [passage omitted]

Editorial on Hungarian Detainee's Trial in CSSR

AU3008144489 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarians 29 Aug 89 p 3

[Editorial by Peter Vajda: "Who Will Benefit From This?]

[Text] We were not at all prepared to have to deal with the arrest of Tamas Deutsch and Gyorgy Kerenyi again after our 26 August issue. The organizations and persons who expressed their consternation and protest in accordance with their temperament and convictions were not either.

The telephones keep ringing in our editorial office and people ask us to explain why all of the Poles, Dutch, Italian, and Hungarian demonstrators who were arrested in Wenceslas Square have already been released, with the exception of the two Hungarian young people who continue to be behind bars in Pankrac. We ourselves have no answer to this question. We also keep asking: Was Tamas Deutsch and Gyorgy Kereny's violation of the law really much more serious than the violation by those who have already returned home? Is their act not being slightly exaggerated and put out of context? Are they such a risk to public security that they cannot defend themselves while being free? What kind of interests would have been harmed if the Hungarian consul—whose constructive activity has been recognized with high CSSR decorations in Prague—had been allowed to participate in defending the accused?

Presumably, the Hungarian positions—both the official and the "alternative" ones—are followed in Prague with the same attention as the CSSR positions are followed in Hungary. Our foreign minister fulfilled a not very popular task when he publicly declared that anyone who participates in a banned demonstration in a foreign country should accept certain risks and consequences. Thus, the Hungarian foreign minister clearly called for rational restraint. In these columns, in which for a long time now we have not agreed with the government "automatically," as every reader knows, we also called for calm and for refraining from emotional reactions. Heated emotions are not good advisers. Irritated exchanges of blows in the press could really harm the relations between the two countries. Therefore, we have no reason now to feel sorry for what we have already written or to give other advice for the time being. However, 72 hours later, we are making our voices heard because of the bitter realization of the fact that time is passing. We had to feel disappointed because the arrest of our young compatriots continues. However, we hope—and we have good reasons for this—that a rational and humane decision has emerged by now.

Although the concept of socialism, as well as legislature and legal practices, are different in the two countries, in 1989 such differences should not be regarded as unnatural. We continue to be neighbors and depend on each other, and we cannot turn our backs to each other. We can have no reason to disregard or underestimate the

mutual effects of decisions made by either side, or their effect on the other side's internal processes. Firmly stressing this does not mean that we want to apply pressure on Prague, because any kind of pressure is inadmissible in interstate relations. However, we can justifiably expect a realistic decision, one that complies with the principles of humaneness.

We have had arguments with Tamas Deutsch and Gyorgy Kerenyi and we might still have arguments in the future. However, we would like to argue with them while they are at home, on Hungarian soil.

Opposition Roundtable Issues Communique

LD3108135389 Budapest MTI in English 1210 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 31 (MTI)—Following the most recent round of medium-level political coordination discussions on Wednesday, members of the Opposition Roundtable (ORT) held their own meeting.

The organisations rallied by the ORT—the Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Friendship Society, the Federation of Young Democrats, the Independent Smallholders' Party, the Chrisitan Democratic People's Party, the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Hungarian People's Party, the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, the Alliance of Free Democrats and the Deocratic League of Independent Trade Unions—tallied their positions concerning the operation of party organisations at places of employment, in the various services and in the Armed Forces. A communique was issued by the participants after the discussions.

This states that the ORT organisations do not wish to interfere in the internal affairs of the HSWP. [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] However, the ORT wishes to emphasize that the withdrawal of HSWP bodies from places of work and public services has become a demand of public interest: This is being voiced by the ORT based on a firm desire by the majority of the population. Reaching an early agreement on this issue at the ongoing discussions is considered important by the ORT, because, in the absence of this, the appearance of the other parties at places of employment seems unavoidable. All this might lead to places of work—already in a state of mortification owing to the moral and political crisis—being turned into venues of political struggles.

In view of this, the ORT cannot adopt a neutral position on the de-politicisation of places of work and the emerging signs endangering the reaching of an agreement on the issue. These signs indicate endeavours which jeopardise the whole process of a democratic transition, the Opposition Roundtable communique stresses.

Pozsgay Says No Agreement on Compromise Plan

LD2908210389 Budapest MTI in English 1917 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 29 (MTI)—At the political coordinating talks, the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party] put forward a compromise proposal to the Opposition Roundtable and the third side on one section of the party law connected to the party organizations in the working place, yet no agreement was reached and the decision was postponed Imre Pozsgay, head of the HSWP delegation, told MTI.

Mr Pozsgay gave detailed information on the issue which created a strong reaction in the Monday press. According to the standpoint of the HSWP delegation, the right of association of constitutional judges and other judges is restricted by the constitution, so that they cannot join any party, soldiers and policemen should be granted a right to association within a fixed period of time, party organizations should withdraw from the army and service posts, institution of public authority (ministerial bodies, councils, prosecutor's offices) should have no party organizations.

The HSWP accepts that the parties remain outside the organizational and management structure of the working place and carry out no activity whatsoever during working hours. This would not, however, exclude working place party organizations from residential areas.

In view of the reaction and the debate involving the membership and the leaders of the party, the HSWP's delegation expects the final decision in the matter from the Central Commitee. Should the Central Committee decide in favour of retaining the organizations of the party in the working place and institutions, it will then also accept that every party has a right to have its own organization in these places, said Imre Pozsgay.

Pozsgay Addresses Inauguration of 1848 Memorial

AU2608125889 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 23 Aug 89 p 5

["B.St.J."-signed report: "Dedication of Military Memorial in Gyula—The Heroes' Example Could Contribute to Increasing Our National Self-Awareness—Imre Pozsgay Addressed the Meeting"]

[Excerpts] Out of the 13 generals of the 1848 revolution executed in Arad, nine were disarmed in Gyula on 29 August 1849, together with almost 1,400 Hungarian officers. [passage omitted]

A remembrance meeting was organized in Gyula on 22 August on the occasion of the 140th anniversary of the event, and a memorial was inaugurated in the Varkert district of the town.

The scientific remembrance meeting held in the festive hall of the Gyula city council was opened by Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, member of the MSZMP Presidium.

In his opening speech, among other things, Imre Pozsgay referred to the events that had taken place 140 years ago and to the antecedents and consequences of those events, as well as to the example of the heroes which could contribute to increasing our national self-awareness and responsibility and our committed patriotism. [passage omitted]

Referring to the importance of the scientific commemoration meeting and of the establishment of a memorial, Imre Pozsgay said the following:

"Remembering history is one of the most practical things to do at times of new ventures. Without this knowledge and without a national self-awareness, our problems would only accumulate and we would miss this unprecedented chance for creating and organizing an independent and democratic Hungary."

In the conclusion of his speech, Imre Pozsgay praised the Gyula citizens' readiness for sacrifices and their capacity to identify with the cause of setting up a memorial for the heroes of 1848. [passage omitted]

Nyers Thanks GDR for Sympathy on Kadar Demise

LD2908180889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1629 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Rezso Nyers, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], sent the following letter to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State:

Allow me, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and myself, to thank you for the expression of your deeply felt sympathy on the occasion of the passing away of Janos Kadar.

Janos Kadar's successful and creative activity in the interests of the development of cooperation on an equal basis and the intensification of brotherly relations between the socialist countries will continue to point the way for us.

In your responsible work I wish you, dear Comrade Honecker, further successes, the best of health and happiness in your personal life.

Leaders Delegated as Candidates to Party Congress

LD2808184689 Budapest MTI in English 1733 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 28 (MTI)—The following people have been delegated or are candidates to the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] congress: Imre Pozsgay, member of the HSWP Presidium, by Hajdu-Bihar County, Rezso Nyers, HSWP president, by Szolnok County, Janos Berecz, member of the Central Committee by Szabolcs-Szatmar County, Miklos Nemeth, member of the HSWP Presidium and president of the Council of Ministers, by District V of Budapest, Gyula Horn, minister of foreign affairs and member of the Political Executive Committee by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Matyas Szuros, member of the Central Committee by Hajdu-Bihar County and Jeno Kovacs, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee and member of PIB by Szabolcs-Szatmar County.

According to a position passed by the Central Committee it will be the task of the Congress to decide—after approval of the rules of procedure—whether the members of the Central Committee or the Central Control Committee will be full-rights delegates or—as members of a body—have only voting rights.

Fojtik Interviewed on Reforms, Recent Events

AU2908140289 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 26 Aug 89 pp 1, 3

[Interview with CPCZ Presidium Member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Fojtik, by Andras Banki: "Interview With Jan Fojtik—We Must Try To Understand Each Other—High Ranking Prague Leader Gives First Interview to MAGYAR HIRLAP on the Wenceslas Square Demonstrations"—in Prague, on 23 August]

[Text] What does Jan Fojtik, the leading ideologue of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] think about socialism, the reforms, Prague Spring, and the opposition? Interrupting his vacation, Jan Fojtik—a politician with a reputation of being strong-willed—received our correspondent in Prague on 23 August to answer questions previously submitted in writing. However, these questions naturally lost priority during the interview because of the events connected with the anniversary of the military action in 1968. Jan Fojtik is the first high-ranking leader in Prague to briefly evaluate these events.

Therefore, we asked him first about the demonstrations in Wenceslas Square in Prague on 21 August.

[Banki] What is your opinion on the mass demonstration and the police interference?

[Fojtik] We knew that the anniversary would not pass smoothly and that the opposition—primarily in Prague—was preparing for a demonstration. We did not read this in the tea leaves: The Voice of America and Radio Free Europe also spoke about this, and we do not jam these radio stations in which opposition representatives often express their views. These radio stations called upon our citizens to show civil courage. They spoke of confrontation with the state power and said that they would strive to make the citizens' actions international. In the final days, the opposition members changed their tactics. They advocated caution and called upon the participants to behave calmly during the demonstrations. Presumably, their aim was to be able to blame us in case of clashes. What happened, happened, but the smoke was greater than the fire. Probably without "internationalist assistance," this would not have happened at all. For me, this proves that, in itself,

the opposition does not have enough power to assert its will. It is also a fact that the preliminary measures taken by our authorities made some people lose interest in taking to the streets.

[Banki] Obviously, the opposition's appeal for calm also contributed to this. Did you hold previous talks with the opposition?

[Fojtik] The opposition's appeal came too late. For weeks prior to the event, they kept encouraging the people to show the government the real forces that should rule. Then, they found out that communist power would benefit from the demonstration because this would give the government a good opportunity to finally finish off the opposition.

[Banki] According to the CSSR press, the demonstrations were organized by foreigners. How should one judge this claim in view of the fact that the police arrested 300 Czech citizens and some 50 foreign citizens?

[Fojtik] One cannot make this claim, but foreigners did also participate in the demonstrations. Those who organized the demonstrations were not present.

[Banki] Mr Fojtik! After all, what is the goal of your restructuring program: Improving the functioning of the communist system, or transcending the Stalinist model?

[Fojtik] Our system is a socialist system and its foundations emerged during a national, democratic, and socialist revolution. Taking into consideration our national endowments and primarily the experiences of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, this system eliminated private property and put the power in the hands of the people. We were lucky that, given our democratic traditions and the short period of direct Stalinist influence, the "Stalinist distortions" did not affect our development to the same extent as it was capable of affecting other countries. In our country, efforts aimed at democratizing the socialist model have been characteristic of the entire period of our socialist construction: from the 20th CPSU Congress, through the sixties—and not only at the end of the sixties—and up to the present. It seems that the current changes in the Soviet Union are finalizing this process. We regard restructuring as a historical opportunity for the renewal of socialism. This will succeed if we do not throw out the baby with the bath water. We want to strengthen, rather than weaken, the foundations of our socialist system.

[Banki] Will the CPCZ also include other forces in this process? Will the CPCZ share power with others too?

[Fojtik] By the leading role of the party, we do not mean the party's monopoly on power. Other forces—political parties, public organizations, etc.—are also represented in the National Front. The policy asserted through the leading role of the Communist Party is based on the power of the working class and of its allies, the peasants and the intelligentsia. This mission requires the confidence of the people.

[Banki] If there are no free elections, what can justify the confidence in the Communist party?

[Fojtik] Would you elaborate on this question?

[Banki] I mean that the people can create their own political organizations and parties and decide, through free elections, which party should enjoy their confidence.

[Fojtik] You are right. However, elections are also taking place under certain conditions. If a party publicly blames itself for being responsible for everything bad in society and declares that it does not know what to do, then this party cannot count on receiving confidence in the elections. At the same time, I am not aware of any country in which elections are not prepared for by election campaigns which influence the voters. In my view, a party should strengthen its own legitimacy not only at periodic elections, but primarily through the results of its everyday policy.

Agreement With Gorbachev on Goals

[Banki] As I see it, while introducing cautious economic reforms, the CSSR is avoiding the reform of its political institutions. Comparing your restructuring program with Gorbachev's and with the democratic transformation under way in Hungary, what in your view are the similarities and differences?

[Fojtik] It is not true that we subordinate our political reforms to economic reforms. We start from Lenin's idea that politics has priority over the economy and that politics should be a concentrated expression of the economy. We do not avoid making changes within our political system, and we even implement these changes. In this spirit, we decided to activate the National Front and we are preparing a new constitution too. At the same time, we are working on a complex reorganization of our economic mechanism, but we are also careful not to upset our economic balance. Therefore, we are acting cautiously.

The similarity between our restructuring program and Gorbachev's restructuring program lies in the fact that our principled approach and goals are common. We fully agree with Gorbachev and we also start from the premise that socialism should create the power of the people. But the people should learn how to manage a country. Socialist democracy means a higher-level democracy, and its full development is a complex task. In our view, only a political organization representing the workers' interests can guarantee the success of such a democracy. However, the party should not monopolize power and make all the decisions, nor should its central apparatus. The party should guide society by political means. This also requires confidence in the party, and we consider restructuring to be the guarantee of this confidence.

As to the differences between the Czech and Soviet restructuring processes, these differences should not confront each other, because they derive from specific conditions and tasks and from the way each country solves these tasks.

[Banki] Many people claim that the Prague Spring was the precursor of restructuring. What is your opinion?

[Fojtik] In January 1968, based on Lenin's ideas, the CPCZ Central Committee plenum made some very important decisions on the socialist renewal of our society. Indeed, many elements of these decisions resemble the current restructuring process; one would be blind not to see this similarity. The essence of the events lies in the fact that the subsequent development period contradicted the decisions of this plenum. The action program adopted in April 1968—which Dubcek mentioned so often and which, in my opinion, he did not even read at that time—was not carried out in practice. Forces hostile to the Soviet Union and to the other socialist countries began to gain ground. The CPCZ leadership headed by Dubcek opened the way for a power struggle which he was later unable to control. Forces demanding a showdown with the Communists became increasingly active. Dubcek is mainly responsible for failing to carry out the decisions of the January plenum. Although he tries in vain to avoid responsibility today, it is impossible to rewrite history later.

Can Dubcek Return?

[Banki] In your view, could Dubcek return to power?

[Fojtik] If he returns, we will no longer be here.... The current CPCZ leadership could hardly cooperate with Dubcek. He may be the symbol for young generations influenced by certain forces, but those who lived through the events of 1968 know that he was a weak politician. He gained a certain amount of popularity, but this was not due to his merit, but came as a result of the military intervention of 1968. It should be clear to everyone: Dubcek left his position in April 1969.

[Banki] He was a prisoner....

[Fojtik] ....but continued to be the party's first secretary until April 1969, until the CPCZ Central Committee meeting dismissed him. Even after this, for a short time, Dubcek continued to have various functions, first as the chairman of the Federal Assembly. Dubcek is becoming active again, but he has also changed. In 1968, he would not have discussed what to do with Cardinal Tomasek and Havel.

[Banki] What is your opinion on the fact that, last week, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] and the Hungarian Government distanced themselves from participation in the military action of 1968?

[Fojtik] This is an affair of the Hungarian People's Republic, the MSZMP, and your affair. Contrary to what was reported in the Western press, we do not blame you for interfering in our internal affairs. We only say that, in the aforementioned statement, the MSZMP leadership does not take into consideration the conditions under which that military action took place and, by this in fact, the MSZMP helps the forces that are hostile to socialism in the CSSR, and not only here. An extremely complex situation had to be solved in 1968. The security of Europe was at stake, and we also had to avoid upsetting the balance of forces between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. A military solution was used only after the political means had been exhausted. Dubcek should ask himself the question: What led to the fact that the CPCZ and the CSSR lost the confidence of their allies?

[Banki] Perhaps the allies were also too impatient.

[Fojtik] That is possible.

[Banki] Let us return to the present. Do you see any possibility that the CPCZ could find points of contact with the opposition, or will the CPCZ continue the course of confrontation?

[Fojtik] Why would there not be such points of contacts? But when they declare that they do not want to play with us on the same playground and they want to institute changes in our social system, changes that would not leave anything from our current system in place, then how can we find points of contact with them? In addition, the example of other countries also advises us to be cautious.

[Banki] You mentioned a playground. Who would determine the rules of the game?

[Fojtik] Both sides should jointly determine the rules of the game. This could be the first point on the agenda of possible negotiations.

[Banki] Do you see any hope of beginning such negotiations in the near future? Can one interpret the recent appeal called "A Few Sentences..." or the behavior of the opposition in connection with the recent anniversary as the beginning of a process?

[Fojtik] So far, the opposition has not been behaving in a way so as to create the conditions for negotiations. This is my opinion. Pressure tactics like the gathering of signatures to the aforementioned appeal are not suitable for starting negotiations. Our task is to implement restructuring. This requires the cooperation of social forces and the avoidance of a power struggle. There is more here than the demands included in the appeal entitled "A Few Sentences...." We are talking here about the evaluation of the past and present, and about the program for the future.

[Banki] The stronger the differences between the Hungarian and CSSR political systems become, the stronger the polemics between the two countries. I refer here to your speech in Eperjes in June, the debate on Bos-Nagymaros, or the reactions to the Dubcek interview

aired on Hungarian Television. In your opinion, will polemics or mutual understanding and tolerance prevail in the future?

[Fojtik] The debates that have no rational bases and which only trigger emotions should stop. By this, I do not mean that we should keep silent about issues on which we disagree. We should try to understand each other, both concerning the past and the present. We should mutually seek the path of cooperation because we need each other. Integration is increasing all over the world, and we would be making a mistake if we kept away from this development.

I consider the Hungarian Television Dubcek interview to have been an unfortunate step, and it was not correct with respect to Janos Kadar. Of course, I do not wish to pass judgment on your television program. As to my speech in Eperjes, all I said there was that, with various slogans that mislead the honest people, under the banner of socialist renewal, forces emerge in Hungary which are not interested in the future development of socialism. I also expressed my conviction that you could control these processes. It is your affair of how to do that. I must say that it was not clear to me why some people in Hungary reacted so nervously to this. Perhaps you know?

Everything That Happens Here Also Affects the Others

[Banki] I did not react nervously. You are right in saying that there are forces in Hungary which reject socialism and want a change in our political system. But there are also leftist forces here which want a democratic socialism. Hopefully in free elections, the people will decide on what to vote.

[Fojtik] The problem is that everything that happens in Hungary also affects us, and the other way round, whether we like it or not. Of course, we want as little conflict as possible in the development of our countries. When the neighbors come and make unpleasant observations, this leads to complications. These people do not always understand that each country is seeking answers to questions that interest them, naturally on the basis of their own experiences and interests. Obviously, there is need for more patience and tolerance on both sides.

[Banki] I thank you for the interview, and ask that you allow me one last question: How do you envisage your political future? Will I meet you if I come to Prague in a year from now to interview the second man of the CPCZ?

[Fojtik] You see, such questions are the best method to make us, the leaders, confront each other. It is clear who the first man is, but the others are equal, although some are more equal than others ... I have been a Central Committee secretary for 20 years, and contrary to Western claims, I was not placed in this position by Soviet tanks, but elected by secret ballot a year after that. We are now preparing for the spring congress of the CPCZ and we are urging changes of personnel, rejuvenation, and a generation change in our elected bodies. It would be a mistake not to carry out the same in the party's top echelons. The congress will decide on personnel issues here.

Marxist-Leninist Party Official on Tasks

AU2908164689 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Aug 89 p 4

[Interview with Sandor Petress, member of the leadership of the Workers' Marxist-Leninist Party, by Lajos Pogonyi: "I Consider Myself a Trained Worker Cadre"—date, place not given]

[Excerpts] Recently, the Presidium of the Communist Party of Hungary, currently in the process of organization, held a meeting. They decided to change the name of the party under formation into the Workers Marxist-Leninist Party. We talked to Sandor Petress, one of the leaders of this party. [passage omitted]

[Pogonyi] What is behind the change in your name, and whom do you see as your members?

[Petress] In the past 6 months, we visited the large enterprises one after the other and we found out that, as a result of the policy of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], the workers have become allergic to the terms socialist and communist.

[Pogonyi] Excuse me, but to the best of my knowledge, both Marx and Lenin were communists, and your worker members are also aware of this. The question is obvious: Does this not irritate them?

[Petress] Unfortunately, I cannot give you an answer to this, but perhaps I will be able to tell you in a few weeks' time. In my view, surely we will have to return to our original name. We are organizing the party in seven counties.

[Pogonyi] Could you tell us which counties?

[Petress] Unfortunately, I cannot tell you because that is secret. We visited 31 large-scale enterprises, but I cannot tell you their names either. According to the admission statements, we will have some 230,000-240,000 members. They are all MSZMP members, but they have had enough of this party. Among our members, there are also MSZMP Central Committee members, and even county-level party leaders want to join us. [passage omitted]

[Pogonyi] In one of your statements, you said that you rejected any return to socialist dictatorship; on the other hand, you do not want the emergence of capitalist market conditions in Hungary either. Do you really think that the Hungarian economy is so strong with regard to financial capital that this danger is plausible?

[Petress] The capitalists will come back, and if we sell our factories to them, we will have a capitalist system again. If our current leaders had their way, we would have capitalism in Hungary within 2 years. We are against this.

Official Interviewed on 'Right Wing' Dangers

LD2708002789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Interview with Robert Ribanszki, member of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Workers and "one of the leaders" of the Ferenc Munnich Society, by Tamas Forro on the "168 Hours" program; date, place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] The first serious worry in connection with the present political changes in Hungary was that progressive tendencies might be halted or even reversed under the influence of domestic conservative forces. This week two publications appeared to strengthen this fear. One of them appeared in MAI NAP. On behalf of the Marxist-Leninist Party of the Workers, Sandor Petres wrote that they would be capable of carrying out a military coup. And Robert Ribanszki gave a statement to SPIEGEL, as a member of the same organization and as one of the leaders of the Ferenc Munnich Society, talking about how the country should be saved from harmful influences. Tamas Forro has interviewed Robert Ribanszki:

[Begin recording] [Forro] In your interview to SPIEGEL you said that the tanks could start rolling anywhere and at any time. Should one interpret this as meaning that at any moment there might be an armed coup in Hungary?

[Ribanszki] When I gave this interview, I did not have Hungary in mind. I mentioned Lebanon, Ireland, South Korea, and other countries. This is a false belief, a speculation which derives from fear of the right wing. Obviously not because of its good conscience, it generates its own fear that the left wing might end this drift to the right by force.

[Forro] Who do you mean by right wing?

[Ribanszki] There are very tough right wing forces outside the party. Unfortunately, there is also a right wing within the party, first and foremost in the party leadership. I would certainly include here Imre Pozsgay; by now I would also include Gyula Horn, Matyas Szuros, and the Chairman of our party, Rezso Nyers. Though he does not belong to the same category, he drifts along with them.

[Forro] Are you saying that the party leadership is right wing?

[Ribanszki] I only mentioned some of the leaders.

[Forro] But you mentioned the most important ones.

[Ribanszki] I would not regard the general secretary as right wing. I regard him as someone who in the past year has drifted along. I consider, by the way, that he bears a heavy responsibility.

[Forro] How would you justify your statement that the people you mentioned are right wing?

[Ribanszki] In Hungary a very strange process has taken place in the past year. At the party conference it was not said that there would be a change of models, a change of regimes, some sort of elimination. It did not occur in any way to the participants that after a year the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] would be transformed into a social democratic party or a Western-type socialist party. It was not said that within the framework of the struggle against Stalinism the regime would be abandoned, the communist party would be abandoned. [passage omitted]

[Forro] In SPIEGAL you expressly state: We are staying and the majority of the Central Committee is against Pozsgay.

[Ribanszki] Look, I have accepted a certain discipline for 4 decades and it still hurts me that I have to act against the leaders of my own party. However, I am not alone and I know that during the past 6 months many people have repeatedly protested against this course. They chose the wrong tactics, they made concessions, they drifted along. I know many Central Committee members wanted to resign but were persuaded not to do so.

Look, at the beginning of this year, when the question of the popular uprising became public, there was a protest campaign of elemental force in the MSZMP. There were thousands of letters and telegrams, stances by bodies, condemning this step by Pozsgay. Do you know what tactics Karoly Grosz followed? He said that we should not publish these statements lest someone says that the Central Committee made its decision under pressure from the left wing. The wrong decision was made. The wrong tactics were followed. This party should have rid itself of Imre Pozsgay in February. Of course, he could have founded another party; we live in a free country, in a constitutional state, there would have been no heavy consequences as far as he was concerned. At the most, the people in the party would have said that he betrayed us. He could have founded his own party.

Precisely because of this, we communists are not willing to leave this party. Those comrades who have left made a mistake; we are expecting them back into the party. Let those who contrary to the present statutes of the party refuse to accept that the MSZMP is a communist party create another party—and I emphasize, another party.

[Forro] Let us return to the original question: Can a military coup be envisaged?

[Ribanszki] I swear I have not the faintest idea how such a military coup could be achieved. My status has been suspended; I am retiring in October. I cannot even imagine how I could give an order to anyone, to the interior or defense minister, to order a halt to the drift. We can envisage achieving this through political means. The use of weapons was not and is not a part of my repertoire.

Private Farmers' Group To Oppose State Control

LD3008150889 Budapest MTI in English
1315 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 30, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—At a press conference at the headquarters of the Union of Engineering and Scientific Associations in Budapest on Wednesday morning, it was announced that the National Association of Private Producers has been formed to represent the interests of Hungary's private farmers.

Reporters were told that the association had been formed by 16 founding members at Pecel near Budapest on August 19. The association's aim is to protect the interests of private producers, to fight against monopolies, and to minimise state control through demonstrations and strikes, already has four branches around the country.

Association leaders also published an appeal demanding that producers and members of democratic organizations and parties boycott the Congress of Agricultural Producers and Cooperatives to be held from 10 to 12 December 1989, as they consider this congress to be only an agrarian lobby aimed at reviving the old administration of the National Council of Agricultural Cooperatives. They believe the only way a congress should be held is by expanding the 21-member preparatory committee beyond just senior managers of agricultural cooperatives.

Hungary's agriculture covers 9.303 million hectares (of which 8.0247 million hectares is cropland). 704,000 hecatres, or 7.5 percent, are owned by private farmers, 30.8 percent of all agricultural land is state property, and agricultural cooperatives possess 61.7 percent.

Minister Unable To Finish Speech at Miners' Rally

LD3008220889 Budapest MTI in English
2024 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 30 (MTI)—The uranium miners of Mecsek who fear loss of jobs held a demonstration and a rally with the participation of 10,000 people in Pecs. The scheme of restructuring the economy involved at one point—as one speaker pointed out—the end of uranium mining in the Mecsek, which would affect some 7,000 workers. The participants of the demonstration said their campaign was not directed against any justified economic measure such as mine closures, but was being held to obtain a guarantee of livelihood. They stressed that unemployment is a threat to several thousand of their colleagues in other branches of mining.

Besides the miners of the country, representatives of other industries, transport, agriculture, trade and professional life expressed their solidarity with the Pecs demonstrators. The rally held in the town sports hall was attended by the representatives of all Hungarian mining companies, the general secretaries of all trade members of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Pecs town committee. The delegation of the British miners' federation, which had come to take part in the event, was also present. The international miners' organization with 6 million members sent a telegram expressing solidarity.

Antal Schalkhammer, general secretary of the trade union of mine industry workers, read out the appeal of his organization to the government including the demands of the entire industry, and proposed that the government discuss them. "Should we not be able to reach an agreement by the miners' congress convened for late November it will be the congress that decides," warned the mining trade union leader.

Sandor Nagy, general secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions [SZOT], also contributed. With clear reference to a recent statement by Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, he said "certain people accuse the workers who are trying to defend their jobs of social demagogy." SZOT intends to lead every campaign which fights for the just demands of workers, he added.

Industrial Minister Ferenc Horvath said the Mecsek uranium mining company had to be given 3,000 million forints last year, and the subsidy is likely to increase leaving no other alternative but to start the closure of mines in the early 90s. He said the government will pass a decision on the matter at its September session. As the minister was catcalled and booed, he did not finish his speech.

Grosz Adviser on 'Gorbachev Principle'

LD2808152489 Budapest MTI in English
1330 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 28 (MTI)—The new concept of Soviet foreign policy is a reality, and is being vindicated in both East and West. The new concept does not interfere in the internal affairs of the people, and respects their right of decision on the specific course of development they intend to pursue. It unequivocally rejects the use of any kind of force. Gyula Thurmer, foreign affairs advisor to Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], says in an interview carried in the Monday issue of the newspaper "NEPSZABADSAG". Mr Thurmer was responding to the reporter's question about whether the Gorbachev principle exists.

"As is already known", he went on, a recent issue of the West German newspaper "DIE WELT AM SONNTAG" carried information on the so-called Gorbachev principle. According to this, the USSR, which broke away from the Brezhnev Doctrine, is ready to accept the changes taking place in Eastern Europe, primarily those in Poland and in Hungary. Nonetheless, it adheres to the present status quo arising from its Warsaw Treaty membership, and to the fact that, in a coalition government, the Communist Party should have control over the department of home affairs and defence.

"The Soviet leadership is observing the changes taking place with understanding and patience. The Soviet Union also regards the various endeavours to overcome

the present crisis through the renewal of socialism to be decisive in the socialist countries. At the same time, I consider that in principle they cannot exclude the possibility of a left wing roll-back...It is my personal confiction that from the Soviet point of view this would definitely be an unwelcome change, and the occurrence of the other extreme would be equally unwelcome... It was also considered in principle that in the process of overcoming the crisis, the signs of a bourgeois society might also be temporarily dominant in some countries.

"The internal processes taking place in the socialist countries are observed with tolerance by the USSR, which is committed to perestroyka. It does not put forward any methods, political course or prescription for any country to follow. However, it does not conceal its conviction, either, that, if we want to build socialism, we cannot be inconsistent, and a fundamental change would be necessary. The policy of non-interference is not in contradiction to their expression of concern, if they observe that stability is weakening, as it is an important factor or international power relations... It was made known to us by the United States that disrupting the existing global power structure is not in the interest of the United States.

"Our primary national interest is to safeguard those elements of Hungarian foreign policy, and Hungarian politics in general, which brought respect for the country in recent months, first and foremost its foreseeable character. This is an important condition for modernising our country, and catching up with Europe. In the present situation, these endeavours could be disrupted by nationalist, anti-Soviet slogans, or views questioning the justifiability of present alliances", Mr Thurmer said in the interview.

Trade Minister Meets Austrian Commerce President

LD2908153989 Budapest MTI in English 1102 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 29, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—Rudolf Sallinger, president of the Austrian federal Chamber [of Commerce] made a one-day visit to Budapest on Monday, during which he had talks with Tamas Beck, Hungarian minister of trade, on trade relations between the two countries and prospects of an increase in cooperation.

Mr Beck expressed Budapest's wish for an increase in Austrian capital investment in Hungary, but Mr Sallinger said Austrian businessmen were more interested in acquiring real estate, MTI-Econews was told.

Mr Sallinger was also scheduled to meet Andras Gabor, president of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce, but cancelled the meeting as he had to return to Austria for a high-level government meeting.

Finance Minister Speaks on Budget Situation

LD2808140789 Budapest MTI in English 1135 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 28, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—Stagnating production, an increase in private business incomes and a changing production structure characterised Hungary's economic performance in the first seven months of the year, said Minister of Finance Laszlo Bekesi in an address to Parliament's plan and budget committee today.

Budget revenues had reached 299 billion forints ($5 billion) by the end of July while expenditure amounted to 334.4 billion forints ($5.6 billion). The 35.4 billion forint deficit was much lower than in May, when a 80 billion forint budget deficit was forecast for the whole of the year.

In the meantime, Parliament has approved the government's 48 billion forint programme of budget cuts which is expected to reduce the budget deficit to the planned figure of 21 billion forints by the end of the year, Mr Bekesi said.

The convertible trade surplus is expected to exceed the planned $600 million by the end of the year. However, the current account deficit threatens to approach 1 billion dollars as a consequence of a 3 percent growth in domestic consumption and heavy tourist spending. Private individuals bought hard currency to the value of about 40 billion forints (appr. $700 million) for travel purposes in the first seven months of 1989.

Consumer prices rose by 16 percent in the first half of the year, while the gross personal incomes rose by 17.2 percent. Real wages rose by 1 percent as against the planned 5-6 percent fall.

An excessive growth in rouble exports also contributed to the worsening of the current account. In order to stop the growth of rouble exports the government will revalue the forint against the transferable rouble by 1.50 forints, the current buying rate being 28.971 forints.

In order to drain company liquidity the National Bank of Hungary is to raise the rate on compulsory reserves of commercial banks by 3 percent and intends also to cut the central bank refinancing facility in the fourth quarter of the year, Mr Bekesi said.

Walesa Interviewed on Solidarity, Reforms

AU3108091389 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 31 Aug 89 p 12

[Interview with Solidarity Leader Lech Walesa by Patrick Garber (RIAS Berlin radio station) and SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG correspondent Thomas Urban in the Gdansk Trade Union Headquarters: "If You Do Not Come I Am Lost—And You Too!"; date not given]

[Text] SZ: What are your feelings about visiting the FRG [on 5 September] a few days after the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II?

Walesa: If you want to recall our great tragedy, the tragedy of all of Europe but also of many individual families, I have to say that we still feel the past losses today. We have still not been able to regain what we lost at that time. Today one united Europe is emerging. Europe as a unity. Therefore, we have to draw the lesson from these terrible experiences of how much misery can be caused by human stupidity. We have to make sure that something like this will never happen again.

My family, too, had to pay the price, my father was killed in the war. But I would also like to say that I am going to the FRG above all as trade unionist.

SZ: Let us stay with the trade unions. What is Solidarity in fact—a trade union or a political party?

Walesa: We have been saying for a long time now that we represent the actual reform, the reform which calls itself Solidarity. At different times this reform movement called Solidarity will look different. Of course, we would like very much to be a good trade union. However, under our conditions the climate is very unfavorable for a good trade union. The economy is not suited for this, there are no political and legal bases.

SZ: What could the next steps of the Solidarity reform movement be like?

Walesa: One example of this is that I could have become president or premier, but I did not. What did I tell the world? That it is not a question of the office, it is not a question of replacing one monopoly of power with another, but that we want reforms, not changing some posts or replacing some people.

SZ: Thus, Solidarity has to divide itself into a trade union wing and a political organization. When is this going to happen?

Walesa: Some say: Now! But if this is going to happen now, which structures have to be established then? Polish society is, above all, a Christian society, that means trade unions and political parties, which are oriented toward Christian concepts. In addition, Polish society is also socialist, and I mean good socialism. Therefore, there should also be socialist parties and trade unions. Third, [number as published] there are, in my view, the Communists—again: communist trade unions and parties. Then there are also Jews and others. A system is only stable and lasting if it comprises all groups that make up society.

SZ: Are the preconditions for the establishment of political pluralism not more favorable after Tadeusz Mazowiecki's election as premier?

Walesa: But what is the price for this? What do we have to give to the other side for this? The way I use our forces will depend on how things develop. I know one thing: We cannot yet be a really good trade union. Because where would we be strong? In the Katowice metallurgical plant, in the shipyards, in the ports, in the large enterprises—there, there is a big proletariat, there one could establish a big trade union. But what would be its attitude toward reforms? If one has to primarily reform the big colossuses and even abolish many things, how would a trade union, that is a pure trade union, act? Because we need reforms in Poland that are more profound than just trade union reforms, we first have to permit political and economic reforms and only in the third place trade union reforms.

SZ: According to you, this also includes a temporary renunciation of strikes. Does a trade union that renounces its right to strike not become a tiger without teeth?

Walesa: The tiger can also bite itself on the tail or on the ear. At this moment we have to be either trade unionists or Poles. My colleagues suggest to me: Let us found a large trade union! But how should this trade union carry out reforms in the Katowice metallurgical plant, for instance, which has to be abandoned? Such a strong trade union would not agree to this at all. How can I get out of this? I am a trade unionist, I want to be a trade unionist, but within certain limits. If there is no longer any enterprise and no work, then there is also no trade union. And one has to abandon the enterprise or divide it into smaller units. Would a trade union permit this? Would I, Lech Walesa, permit this as a trade unionist? No! I could not do this.

SZ: Which way out does Solidarity see?

Walesa: As long as there is no sensible economy, I have to build one up. And there is no one else who can do that. The Communists cannot manage this. They have tried for 45 years to build something up. And what was the result? They have not built up anything! Therefore, we have to do it, but without deciding everything from above as this was done in the past.

SZ: Which tasks do you see for yourself?

Walesa: By being not willing to become premier, even though this had already been set down in writing, ' showed that I do not accept this office because I have to push ahead with the reforms—for the premier, but not as premier myself. I rather have to stay in the trade union, clean up the trade union, and build up political and economic structures. If someone suggests a big trade

union to me, this simply means a trade union that does not permit reforms. But how does one want to make demands if one does not have anything? We can do the same as they do in Yugoslavia.

SZ: What do you think is going on there?

Walesa: For instance, the teachers there go to the local authorities and shout: "We want bread!" Then the party secretary comes and says: "Give them bread!" And the prices go up. Hardly have the teachers gone, then the hairdressers come: "We want bread!" Another price hike, and so on. We can form a trade union and do as the Yugoslavs do. This means, first the doctors strike and get something, then the miners, and so on. This path does not lead anywhere.

SZ: What is your trade union to be like?

Walesa: We want to be a trade union that does not destroy the foundations of the economy but which helps. Later on the trade union can become stronger.

SZ: Will the workers, the young workers above all, have enough patience for this?

Walesa: I have already had talks with such people: "My dear people, we can throw stones, we can whistle. This can take half an hour. But what comes afterwards? First we have to pay for new windows, and then we ask ourselves: How do we get out of this again?" But I suggest something else: First we think about what we are going to do. And then we step on the gas.

However, what do the young ones suggest? Faster, we have had enough! I like this. In their place I would probably shout even more loudly. But I want to find a solution for what they want. With or without a bump on the head. They suggest bumps but not solutions. I say no to this. We have to find a solution, if necessary with bumps.

SZ: What is the main problem?

Walesa: Our dilemma is simply that we do not have money to finance all this. Politically we are already able to do this, but—damn it! —we do not have any money. Therefore, I appeal to you, to the West: Stop being like a virgin who is tempted but afraid to take the plunge. Make an effort and help us!

SZ: What form should this help take?

Walesa: Come with your banks! With your companies! I give you buildings for your banks. Bring your secretaries and plug in your computers! If there is an opportunity for a good deal in Poland, which will be profitable for both you and us, sieze the opportunity! This also applies to the money that the people here have stashed away at home. It is estimated that this money amounts to $1.5 to $5 billion. But no one trusts a communist Polish bank with this money because the Communists cheated the people. The people would trust your banks with their money. Then we could start reforms, with our money that is in your banks. Therefore we let you into the country for 10, 15 years. You earn money here. We, too. And, in the end, we will pay you off.

SZ: Why is the West hesitating like a virgin?

Walesa: Businessmen from the West tell me: "Dear Lech, to our great chagrin there are no telephones, no telefax, no good roads here!" I can only say to this: Right! Everything is terrible—no telephone, no telefax. But if we had this you could go to blazes! Then we would not need you. We need you because we do not have anything. We let you into the country because we need you, not because we love you. We propose a business deal to you so that you make a profit and we do, too. This has nothing to do with feelings, neither on your side, nor on ours. This is simply business.

SZ: Which guarantees does Poland give?

Walesa: The West says: "Limit inflation, put the price system in order! And then we will come." But we cannot do this because then everything will break down in Poland. We will never get out of this! One has to take certain risks. Our guarantees: My trade union, Lech Walesa, and the premier, who now is one of us. Thus, there are guarantees, but not 100-percent guarantees. I cannot guarantee that the ceiling will not cave in at the next moment. One cannot guarantee anything 100 percent. You in the West cannot do this either, by the way.

SZ: It has been said that Poland needs $10 billion in initial aid.

Walesa: We do not want money. We want you to open companies here and to invest here. Therefore, I do not understand Chancellor Kohl's attitude. We say we need $10 billion but not in cash but as investments. With $10 billion Poland could be joined to Europe, provided the money is invested well and not wasted. If you agree to this you can make good business. But in your country they say: "the Poles are romantics, fantasists, and want $10 billion!" This is not correct. We want to make deals worth $10 billion.

SZ: You spoke about the West's coresponsibility toward the reforms in Poland.

Walesa: If Poland fails now, this means that not only Poland has failed but you, too, because you do not have any imagination, because you have not had the necessary interest. If you do not help Poland to do business with you, then not only we will be the losers, but you,too. Our begging is shameful for me and for all of Poland.

SZ: Why will the West also be the loser?

Walesa: The fact that we are inhibiting Europe's development also affects you. Perhaps one will have to say at some time in the future: "You had the chance to make sure that we no longer hold Europe back. You had the chance for a good business deal. Everything was ready

for this. But you missed the chance because you were too comfort loving and, in addition, you kicked us in the teeth."

Then the West and Europe would have to be accused of its short-sightedness, its lack of imagination and business sense.

SZ: But do you not fear that....

Walesa: Of course, we are fearing many things. We are playing a new, unknown card. But I will be less afraid if you come with your banks and joint ventures. But if you do not come, then I am lost—and you, too.

SZ: Why does Solidarity take over the leadership of the government under these difficult preconditions?

Walesa: What would have been my way out? If I had permitted the Communists to go on, I would have had to agree to what they are doing. I only had one chance and I took it. And now I have to continue!

SZ: This policy is being observed with skepticism by your neighbors. Therefore, both Premier Mazowiecki and you yourself quickly professed your support for the Warsaw Pact. Is this the end of the dream of Poland's Finlandization?

Walesa: Why are you always thinking in such hegemonistic terms? You always want everything at the same time, that we secede from the Warsaw pact, Finlandization, that we change to the American camp. Gentlemen, one thing after the other, take it easy! Permit us to develop step by step. Soon alliances like NATO and the Warsaw Pact will no longer be necessary. But today Poland cannot simply secede. Today we cannot even think of that. Because we really have other enormous problems.

Seceding is a beautiful word! How beautiful would it be if Mazowiecki could proclaim that we are seceding from the Pact! And what would it bring? Nothing!

SZ: The Warsaw Pact states call themselves socialist. You once said: "So far no one has followed the path from socialism to capitalism. And this is precisely what we want." What does this mean?

Walesa: Slowly, slowly. I never said in this way that I want to march toward capitalism. I said that we are establishing a Polish model, which is better than capitalism.

SZ: What is this model to look like?

Walesa: We want your economic capacity, your financial power, but we want to continue living comfortably, in the Eastern way. Of course, this is only a joke. I mean that we want to take over some things from the West but not everything. Because there, there are also many bad things. But with your experiences we could build a new, better system. I do not reject capitalism, I do not say that it is bad. I only say that one could make it better.

[Vienna Domestic Service in German at 0500 GMT on 31 August carries an undated 6-minute interview with Polish Solidarity Leader Lech Walesa by Patrick Garber of the RIAS Berlin radio station, which was recorded in Walesa's office in Gdansk. In addition to verbatim passages contained above, the interview adds the following:

[Asked first about his preferences concerning the alternatives of slow or fast reforms, Walesa says: "I do not agree with this alternative. We have to proceed from the premise that in our country the state is very rich, richer than in your country. I will tell you why. In Germany about 10 to 20 percent of the economy is owned by the state and in our country 95 percent is owned by the state. Thus, which state is richer? Ours. But in our country the citizens are poor. Thus, let us make our state have as much as yours and our citizens will get everything else back—privatization, this is how I imagine things. Taking away from the state which manages badly and distributing to the people, like in your country."

[Talking about potential business with the West, Walesa says: "In Poland great things have happened. We even have a premier from our ranks. We have eliminated or will eliminate everything that hampers us."

[Discussing the West's expectations toward Poland, Walesa admonishes: "Let us first form a government and take some steps—privatization and others—so that the government gets a bit of money. Then we can talk about everything else. Then we can also burden ourselves with things for which we simply do not have the strength at the moment."]

Former RFE Chief Arrives at Walesa Invitation

LD2908195189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Jan Nowak-Jezioranski, who for many years was the director of the Polish section of Radio Free Europe [RFE] and is currently a high-ranking member of the American Polonia Congress, has arrived in Poland. At the airport he said he came at the invitation of Lech Walesa and the Citizens Committee. During his 2-week visit Jan Nowak-Jezioranski will meet, among others, Lech Walesa, Sejm deputies, and senators of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club. He will also visit Gdansk, Czestochowa, and Krakow.

No 'Official' British Invitation for Walesa

LD2908212489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1541 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 29 (TANJUG)—Polish Solidarity leader Lech Walesa did not receive an official invitation to visit London, the Solidarity leadership has said in a statement denying reports, especially those in the West, that Walesa would shortly visit Great Britain at the invitation of Margaret Thatcher's government.

Walesa's foreign policy department announced that the Solidarity leader intends to visit Great Britain in

December to take part in a meeting of the leadership of the free trade unions' international conference. The agenda of the visit has, however, not been determined as yet and Walesa's possible trip to London will depend on a concrete proposal, it was said in Gdansk.

U.S. President's Letter to Jaruzelski Cited

LD3008214689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Senator Robert Dole has handed the president of Poland a personal letter from U.S. President George Bush congratulating Wojciech Jaruzelski on his wisdom and behavior worthy of a statesman in leading Poland through a very difficult time. I returned from my visit to Poland last month, George Bush wrote, full of hope as regards the future of your country. The progress that took place under your leadership in the formation of the government which will enjoy the trust and support of the Polish nation is most encouraging. The road ahead will not be easy but I wish to let you know that you may count on our continuing support as Poland overcomes the challenges ahead, the U.S. President stressed.

Jaruzelski Receives Premier Mazowiecki for Talks

LD3008214589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] President Wojciech Jaruzelski received Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki who told him about problems connected with the formation of the new coalition government. This situation in Poland and international affairs were also discussed. The president once again declared his support for the efforts being made to form a grand coalition government.

Ex-Adviser Fears Solidarity Losing 'Ideals'

PM2908114589 Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 11 Aug 89 p 3

[Interview with Counselor Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki, chairman of the Christian-Democratic Labor Party Main Board Executive Committee, former Solidarity adviser, and government coalition adviser during the roundtable talks, by GAZETA POMORSKA correspondent Marek Heyza prior to a meeting between Sila-Nowicki and participants of the PZPR-sponsored youth camp "21 Century Vanguard" at Wenecja near Znin; date not given; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction; editorial annotation states that the interview is "unauthorized"]

[Text] Counselor Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki became widely known as a defense lawyer in political trials and an advocate of Solidarity from the original August [1980] strikes until the roundtable talks. He is an ardent partisan of the movement, although those unfamiliar with certain hidden aspects of the internal politics might be astonished by the fact that he has been eased out of the circle of Solidarity advisers.

He was recently invited to take part in a debate with the young participants of the "21 Century Vanguard" youth camp held at Polish Socialist Youth Union's training and recreation center in Wenecja near Znin. Before the meeting began, we asked Counselor Sila-Nowicki for an interview.

[Heyza] More than once recently, while talking at various meetings about your attachment to the democratic ideals promoted by Solidarity, you expressed your regret that the leaders of that organization have been forgetting these ideals. Is it true that these democratic ideals are now becoming endangered in Solidarity?

[Sila-Nowicki] Solidarity was originally set up as an organization which was by definition highly democratic and within which all decisions were made jointly and openly. This was difficult to achieve, but, after all, democracy is never an easy thing to achieve. But it gave the organization an inner strength which, among other things, helped it to get through the difficult period of martial law and the following years. Now Solidarity is coming back, but it is coming back as a new and altogether different organization. The direction of its constructive thrust is now downward instead of upward, while its decisions are often made in secret.

[Heyza] Perhaps the situation demands that it should be so?

[Sila-Nowicki] I am afraid it is not the situation that demands it but the leaders' convenience. I have fought for many years for Solidarity's return to the political scene—the Solidarity which used to embody the longings of so many people. I find it very painful that the working people now regard it with such strong reservations. I had hoped that when it finally returned, Solidarity would very soon regain its 9-million-strong membership. But the working people have proved to be extremely cautious about it, and this is a very symptomatic development.

[Heyza] Perhaps this is a consequence of the lessons learned during the period of martial law?

[Sila-Nowicki] The martial law is now a thing of distant past. There was a time when it required considerable courage to join Solidarity and become involved in its activity. Today these difficulties are no longer there.

[Heyza] Do you believe that Walesa's popularity and the fact that his opinion is the deciding factor in many controversial questions give additional strength to Solidarity, which, like any organization, must have a leader? Or do you think that they could gradually contribute to a weakening of the union and even lead to a kind of personality cult?

[Sila-Nowicki] Walesa is a difficult man. There is no doubt that he has tremendous political talent and unquestionable charisma. Some of his decisions are very astute, but there is little doubt that he is at present moving away from the pursuit of democracy. This is a universal human problem: People who topple tyrants

often become much greater tyrants themselves when their turn comes. After all, how bad was Nicholas II in comparison with Stalin?

We must remember that Walesa also has certain definite hankerings... Of course, you cannot compare these cases, but we know the phenomenon whereby people who had earlier fought for democracy abandon it readily as soon as they get the first chance to realize their political ambitions. Do you know why I will be going to Szczecin tomorrow? To attend a regional Solidarity convention which will take place there. I support the idea of organizing joint elections of Solidarity leaders with the participation of all its different factions. During the roundtable talks I insisted that they should be attended not only by the "good" section of Solidarity but also by its "naughty" wing. This offended my colleagues very deeply and that was why they agreed to have my speech censored.

[Heyza] Kuron objects to the fact that during the roundtable talks you were "split down the middle," as it were, and it was impossible to tell whether you were with the Solidarity or government side. He also holds it against you that you assumed the role of arbiter although no one had authorized you to do that.

[Sila-Nowicki] No authorization was necessary there. When I acted as Solidarity adviser, I had no official piece of paper to that effect either. It simply followed from the situation as it was at the time.

[Heyza] All the same, Kuron did object...

[Sila-Nowicki] Kuron's behavior was occasionally unpardonable but on the whole he behaved very civilly toward me. On the other hand, just before the start of the roundtable talks I was approached by Michnik, who asked me why I was sitting with their side if I was not Walesa's man. I answered him: "My dear Mr Michnik, it is you who are Walesa's man; I am a Solidarity man. I am here at the roundtable talks as a delegate representing Szczecin Solidarity." This did not go down well with Walesa, which was surprising because, after all, I was the architect of the talks with Gen Kiszczak and the person who finally brought them about. I am disturbed by the fact that Walesa has by now surrounded himself with people from one side only—the lay left orientation—as his aides in decisionmaking, having severed all links with a whole range of other advisers. He has distanced himself from all those who, as he probably thought, would be likely to make it difficult for him to carry out any undemocratic moves. Perhaps it indicates a certain political long-sightedness, perhaps it is a considered move toward a departure from democracy, but I must say I was taken aback by the abruptness with which Walesa distanced himself from me as soon as the talks between him and Kiszczak started. After all, it took a lot of trouble to set these talks up.

[Heyza] During the final session of the roundtable talks you talked about the danger of the opposition delegates present at the talks turning into establishment figures. How real is that danger?

[Sila-Nowicki] I very often meet workers and other members of the public. They say to me: "What kind of opposition is it? Those people are no longer in opposition..." In every existing system, as soon as the authorities grant someone a monopoly on representing the opposition, that person becomes, as it were, an element of the establishment almost on a par with the authorities.

[Heyza] Kuron once compared the work of the Consultative Council attached to the chairman of the Council of Ministers to... talking to the wall. You were a member of that Council...

[Sila-Nowicki] The Council was the first to speak about matters which until then had been shrouded in silence. Since 1986, when the Council was created, freedom of expression has increased to a remarkable extent—and this includes freedom of the lawfully printed word. At the Council's first session I was the 16th speaker to take the floor. I asked why I was the first person to utter the word "Solidarity" and speak on its behalf. Did that issue exist or not? The question of Katyn and other important matters were also raised at the Council. I talked to Kuron about the Council and my participation in it when we met at the French embassy on 14 July. I said: "Mr Kuron, you accused me of participating in the Consultative Council and talking with the authorities rather than fighting them. And what have you lot done now? You have jumped into bed with the very same authorities."

[Heyza] It is alleged that during the Sejm election campaign your rival candidate, Kuron, resorted to all kinds of tricks. Apparently there were even threatening telephone calls...

[Sila-Nowicki] Indeed he tried various tricks, but I do not hold that against him. All in all, he behaved like a gentleman. And yes, I did receive such telephone calls, but that was in the days of the Radom trials. It did not happen this time.

[Heyza] All the same, it was Kuron who won the election, not you.

[Sila-Nowicki] I spent Z5 million on the campaign. Kuron spent Z500 million...

[Heyza] Nevertheless, you are still on excellent terms with Kuron, are you not?

[Sila-Nowicki] I spent more than 9 years behind bars. I was given four death sentences (as a result of efforts by Aldona Dzierzynska, sister of Feliks [Dzerzhinskiy], to whom Sila-Nowicki was closely related, the sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. He was released in October 1956—MH). Kuron was a client of mine. He himself spent 8 years in prison. That gives him credibility in my eyes. He had a very tough time, too, though I still cannot forgive him for his work in the party, the

fact that he dismantled the Polish scouting movement, and so on. But he is a genuine guy, and he believed in what he was doing. And as to the methods... After all, those people in Solidarity are applying party methods of 20-30 years ago. What is bred in the bone will come out in the flesh. I was talking recently to a high party functionary. He said: "Solidarity is now making the same mistakes we used to make years ago." I like listening to what the other side has to say. It is very instructive.

[Heyza] Let us go back to the subject of the elections. Are you not worried by the fact that their outcome was decided by negative considerations which effectively assumed the form of a mass plebiscite?

[Sila-Nowicki] Of course I am. Although the result of the elections is a major victory, it is neither tantamount to approval of the political program offered by Solidarity—which was disguised in the elections as the Citizens' Committee—since the vast majority of the electorate did not know it, nor is it a vote of confidence in the candidate deputies and senators nominated by the Citizens' Committee, as the vast majority of the electorate was not even remotely interested in the candidates' personalities. The result of the elections was an expression of the voters' belief that whoever was put forward by Solidarity was bound to be against the government and that the only candidates who could be relied on to be against the government were those nominated by the Citizens' Committee. For the first time in more than 40 years people were able to voice their criticism of the system and the manner in which power was being exercised. At the same time, the difficult living conditions and the absence of prospects for a speedy improvement of the economic situation made the negative criticism very much more pronounced and were very largely responsible for its unequivocal nature. In my opinion, the predominantly negative nature of the factors which influenced the voters in their decisions does not bode well for the future durability or stability of the elected legislative bodies. The election results do not unequivocally demonstrate unanimity. They also reflect society's inability to think in political terms. This points to an urgent need to develop political pluralism in our country and to make up the shortcomings in our political experience, so that the Poles could as a nation enjoy a highly developed political ethic.

[Heyza] More and more often it is said publicly that the existence of opposition might be good for our country. What kind of opposition?

[Sila-Nowicki] Not the kind we have now. The principal flaw in the present situation is that there is a monopoly on power which is countered by a monopoly on opposition. As a result of our accustomed fear of pluralism, the practice of political dualism was brought into existence. All candidates for deputies nominated by the Citizens' Committee were obediently elected, but do they represent the whole of Poland's opposition? Do we not need a better opposition? Are we as a nation incapable of coming up with a better kind of opposition? For the moment, Solidarity, parading under the guise of the Citizens' Committee, has become not even a party but a monoparty that has managed to monopolize all opposition. The staggering election success is accompanied by an alarming lack of success on the trade union front. There is a very real risk that the Solidarity ethos, which used to be such a great asset, will become progressively weakened and atrophied. Poland needs political opposition brought up on political work and political experience, developed in political movements, and matured in political clubs and parties of a democratic nature. A trade union cannot permanently remain—whether openly or in a disguised form—an essentially political organization. That way lie dangerous distortions. There should be room in our political landscape for all currents of the opposition movement.

[Heyza] In your opinion, what conditions and requirements should determine the nature of political activity in Poland?

[Sila-Nowicki] Exclusive use of democratic methods, since the past years gave us such a bitter lesson in the consequences of the absence of democracy. Also, respect for the interests of the state and for the Polish raison d'etat. The first condition is appreciated by the vast majority of the public. On the other hand, respect for the state as a supreme value is yet to be restored in our country.

[Heyza] Thank you for talking to us.

FRG's Rau Calls for Federal Aid to Poland

LD3008141989 Hamburg DPA in German 1245 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—The prime minister of North Rhine-Westphalia, Johannes Rau (SPD) [Social Democratic Party of Germany], has urgently appealed in Warsaw to the Federal Government in Bonn and to the German economy to translate their aid pledges to Poland into action as swiftly as possible. "Otherwise time will run out," Rau said today, after talks with the new Polish prime minister, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, and Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski. A visit to Poland by Chancellor Kohl is overdue. Warsaw is waiting for this signal.

The North Rhine-Westphalian prime minister is on a 3-day visit, marking the 50th anniversary of the German invasion of Poland, which sparked off world War II on 1 September 1939. Poland's new prime minister, Mazowiecki, invited the German economy to invest in his country. "There is a great deal to be done, and I hope that it will prove rewarding," said the first non-Communist Polish Government leader since 1945 to economic managers from North Rhine-Westphalia who are accompanying Rau.

"All that has been worked out in years of negotiations between the Federal Republic and Poland must now urgently be made concrete," Rau told journalists. He

could not conduct any "substitute negotiations," but hoped "as a German Social Democrat" to help remove persisting obstacles. Prior to his visit he discussed the Federal Republic's options with Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

In the talks with Mazowiecki and Olechowski, the question of the Hermes guarantees had played a part. Although he had recommended speeding up economic cooperation by awarding these guarantees, at first without concrete standard data, the Polish side made an inside deal on fixed ceilings, such as had been agreed with Hungary. The background to this problem is that Poland is seeking a framework of guarantees for the M7 billion, while the Federal German side has until now been starting from the assumption of around 3 billion. Rau may also have discussed this matter with Ernest Kucza, head of the Foreign Affairs Department of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party], who received him this afternoon. Kucza is the counterpart of chancellor's adviser Horst Teltschik in negotiating the question of German aid.

Rau appealed to the Federal Government and the economy saying that they could not wait for years with great expectations to see democratization in Poland only to "run away or gamble it away on a waiting game" now that there was a real chance of it. The Polish "risk must succeed, because after this Poland will have played all its cards," said the deputy SPD chairman. Rau mentioned environmental projects, manager training, and medical care as possible areas of cooperation.

During the course of the day he also hoped to speak with the leadership of the "solidarity" group in the Sejm and with the primate of Polish Catholics, Cardinal Jozef Glemp. Tomorrow he will be received by party leader Mieczyslaw Rakowski.

Rau, Rakowski Discuss Ties

LD3108101489 Hamburg DPA in German 0930 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—The SPD [Social Democratic Party] and the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] hope to continue their good relations despite the altered political circumstances in Poland. This was agreed during an hour-long talk in Poland today between Deputy SPD Chairman Johannes Rau and Communist Party leader Mieczyslaw Rakowski.

Rau said that he had gained a great deal of important additional information from Rakowski on Poland's political situation, and from his conversations with government leader Tadeusz Mazowiecki and the Solidarity group in the Sejm. It is not yet possible to make an evaluation of the future role of the Communist Party as part of the government but not a coalition partner.

Rakowski described Rau as a friend who had worked for many years to ensure good relations between the two countries and parties. His visit to the PZPR Central Committee at this time is proof of his continuing efforts.

At noon Rakowski will receive Antje Vollmer and Ralf Fuecks, the spokesmen of the Bundestag party group and Bundestag executive of the Greens. The Greens' 15-man delegation arrived in Warsaw yesterday. They hope to conduct political talks and participate in the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the German invasion of Poland. Berlin's Governing Mayor Walter Momper is also traveling to the Polish capital this evening to attend the commemoration ceremony.

Olechowski on Chance for New Ties With FRG

LD2608203389 Warsaw PAP in English 1901 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] Bonn, Aug. 26—Polish Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski sent a message to an ongoing seminar of the Polish ecumenical council and the evengelical academy in Muelheim/Ruhr, FRG, organized in Muelheim in advance of the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War Two, which says that Poland and the FRG now have a chance to open a new chapter in bilateral, relations.

"On the eve of the anniversary observances we reiterate our readiness to make a fundamental breakthrough in relations between the Polish People's republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, based on existing political and territorial realities in Europe and the December 7, 1970 treaty. We think that the time is ripe to build a new political quality between our countries and nations, to be marked by confidence, partnership and cooperation," Olechowski said.

"Therefore, Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany have a chance to open a new chapter in mutual relations in the year of the meaningful anniversary of the outbreak of World War Two. We strongly believe that this chance will not be wasted, that both sides will do their best for it to come true for the good of the present and the future generations of Poles and Germans, for the good of peaceful cooperation in Europe," the message reads.

Geremek Comments on Government Composition

LD3008102889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0630 GMT 30 Aug 89

[From the "Press Review"]

[Text] GAZETA WYBORCZA talks to the chairman of the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group [OKP] about forming a government and its program. We consider, says Bronislaw Geremek, that the government should be formed around a program and that its composition should be subordinated precisely to that program. Consequently we consider that the principles for government appointments should be competence and honesty. In his view, a short-term, 3-month program, which would

above all serve to create a climate of hope, should be prepared at once. A long-term program is also necessary, a program of structural changes which would get Poland out of the pit it finds itself in.

Bronislaw Geremek reminds us that the group he chairs is not a party and that during the talks with the premier they had not applied for any particular ministerial portfolios. But, he emphasized, we believe that some ministries have to be manned exclusively on the principle of competence rather than any kind of party membership. Such ministries, he told GAZETA WYBORCZA, include the justice, foreign affairs, finance, agriculture, industry, foreign trade and national education ministries. In accordance with earlier agreements, added Bronislaw Geremek, the Ministry of National Defense and Ministry of Internal Affairs will remain with the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. But it would be useful to introduce nonparty undersecretaries of state there.

If the PZPR retains a monopoly in the fundamental structures of power, according to Geremek, it also should bear joint responsibility for economic policy—that is, it should also take over some economic ministry.

As far as Polish radio and television is concerned, the PZPR monopoly has to be broken. That kind of position, Bronislaw Geremek said, was formulated by the OKP. Personnel decisions concerning the radio committee would be the most evident and immediate sign of change for the public. The group has put forward a plan for handing radio and television over to parliamentary control and it is not going to give up this idea.

In his interview, Bronislaw Geremek also talks about the group's cooperation with the premier and about an economic program being prepared by a group under the leadership of Professor (Beksiak).

PAP Report

LD3008193289 Warsaw PAP in English
1735 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 30—Referring to the composition of a future cabinet, Chairman of the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group OKP Bronislaw Geremek told today's GAZETA WYBORCZA that certain ministries must be manned according to competence instead of party membership.

Among these he named the following ministries: finance, agriculture, foreign trade, labour, industry and national education. "According to the earlier decisions, the defence and interior ministries are to be headed by PUWP [Polish United Workers Party]," Geremek said and added that it would be good to employ people with no party affiliation as undersecretaries in those ministries.

Speaking about PUWP's demands for taking the portfolio of foreign minister, Geremek said that the experiences of the Polish foreign policy, and mainly the recent dispute with the GDR over the Baltic waters, had shown that PUWP's monopoly did not serve well the Polish reason of state. "The condition of the diplomatic service does not heed the needs of the new times either," he opined.

Asked about a future head of the committee of radio and television, Geremek said that the matter could not be a subject to any auction and that the to-date monopoly of the PUWP had to be broken. "Such a stand was formulated by the OKP," he added. "Decisions concerning committee's staff will be the most visible and prompt symbol of changes for the public opinion," he said.

The same issue of GAZETA WZBORCZA printed a statement by Chairman of the Democratic Party CC [Central Committee] Jerzy Jozwiak on his party's plans concerning the number (of portfolios) though it is important, too. We think that one should not hamper the historic mission of the prime minister.

"The office of vice-premier has been agreed on. We suggested that we should head such ministries as justice, environmental protection, home market and building industry. All in all, we suggested that we should take over six departments. Our candidates are well-prepared for managing various fields of life", Jozwiak said.

Olechowski on Future Talks With IMF Group

LD3108090389 Warsaw PAP in English
2255 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 30—In his TV talk, Minister of Foreign Affairs Tadeusz Olechowski stated that the friendly atmosphere which exists around Poland, especially after calling Tadeusz Mazowiecki to the post of prime minister, offers particularly favourable conditions for Poland.

"The Foreign Ministry tries to take advantage of this atmosphere, especially in the economic context. Gen. Jaruzelski's recent message to the seven most industrialised countries of the world resulted [in] these countries interest in granting Poland a food aid worth 120 million dollars," Olechowski said.

The minister announced a planned intensification of talks with the Paris Club. "In September we will hold further important talks with representatives of the International Monetary Fund whose delegation will pay a visit here to finish the work on the adaptation programme. Also in September, we expect a visit here by a delegation of EC authorities with whom we will sign a trade agreement on economic cooperation between Poland and the EC," the minister said.

Budget Remuneration Resolution Approved

LD3008175489 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1730 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] The Council of Ministers has met under the chairmanship of Deputy Premier Ireneusz Sekula. A

resolution was passed on increasing means for remuneration in the budget sphere from January to 30 September 1989. The resolution is an executive document to the act recently passed by the Sejm and approved today by the Senate. In accordance with the provisions act, the average remuneration in the budget sphere—education, culture and art, health service and social welfare, and state administration—is to be at a level not lower than 97 percent of the average remuneration in the material production sphere. Making up the average wage in the budget sphere for the first half-year of 1989 will be done as a one-off payment at the beginning of September this year.

The Council of Ministers made an initial examination of a proposed change in the higher education act, which will make possible the registration of the Independent Students' Association. The relevant ministers were ordered to prepare urgently the appropriate wording of the new legal regulations.

Solidarity Condemns Arrest of CSSR Dissidents

LD3008215189 Warsaw PAP in English 1940 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 30—The citizen's committee at the Solidarnosc leader [as received] fully sympathizes with the imprisoned Slovak fighters for human rights, signatories of the 77 charter Jan Charnogorski and Miroslav Kusy.

They have been detained in custody pending inquiry since August 14 and are to be put to trial under the slanderous accusation of "threatening the republic's interests".

We also express our full solidarity with Czech signatories of the 77 charter Stanislav Devaty and Frantishek Stark sentenced to two-and-a-half-year imprisonment for civic activity.

We want to believe that the Czechoslovakia's authorities will shun the policy of fighting people using their civic freedoms by means of legal and extra-legal repression.

UPP, DP, Solidarity Secretaries Meet

LD3008182589 Warsaw PAP in English 1722 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 30—Secretary of the Central Committee of the United Peasant Party, UPP, Bogdan Krolewski, of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party, DP, Tadeusz Rymszewicz and Secretary of the Solidarnosc National Executive Committee Jaroslaw Kaczynski held a working meeting today.

The three secretaries discussed a draft of a coalition agreement on cooperation between Solidarnosc, the UPP and the DP.

Lodz PZPR First Secretary Resigns

LD3008182389 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] The plenary meeting of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Lodz committee has been taking place behind close doors. Before the plenum many members of the Lodz party organization favored changes in the voivodship's political authorities. Jozef Niewiadomski, first secretary of the PZPR Lodz committee, has resigned his office. Adam Walczak, who has so far been a secretary of the PZPR Lodz committee, has been elected in his place by a majority of votes. Leszek Miller participated in the deliberations.

Central Committee Secretary on PZPR New Role

AU2808141289 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 28 Aug 89 pp 125-126

[Unattributed interview with Slawomir Wiatr, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee: "Nothing Will Work Without Us"; date, place not given]

[Text] DER SPIEGEL: At the parliamentary elections in June the Communist Party suffered a serious defeat, now it has failed with its candidate for premier. Is the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] at its end?

Wiatr: I would not speak of a serious defeat. After all, about 25 percent of the voters gave us their trust. Our idea of an all-party government also seems to be implemented. The fact that a Solidarity representative has become premier may even be better in the present situation.

DER SPIEGEL: In 4 years there will again be elections. And then the party can no longer count on special conditions....

Wiatr: ...but neither can the other political forces.

DER SPIEGEL: Do you not fear that the party will then completely disappear from the political map?

Wiatr: The political developments in Poland are happening at such a great speed that any prediction about what will be in 4 years is almost futurology. In this place and at the present time we have to do everything to prevent the Mazowiecki government from failing within just a few months.

DER SPIEGEL: Do the simple party members see this in an equally generous way or is a certain defeatism already spreading among them?

Wiatr: On the contrary. The danger which the party is facing and the attacks which it may perhaps still face from the former opposition make the party members close ranks.

DER SPIEGEL: The latest statements by the new party leader Rakowski sounded rather militant. Does the party want to strike back?

Wiatr: We do not want to eat dirt any longer. We think that the party has humiliated itself sufficiently, that it has sufficiently rid itself of its Stalinist burdens. Now it is enough. We do not want to be accused any longer of lacking the will for reforms....

DER SPIEGEL: The will may be there....

Wiatr: Without our will for reforms, Solidarity would not sit in the Sejm, without it there would not be a Premier Mazowiecki.

DER SPIEGEL: The party did not share power voluntarily. It was forced to do so.

Wiatr: And it wants to remain in power. This is clear. Any party in the world has to goal to achieve power and to then keep it. Therefore, it is neither indecent nor immoral when the party wants to continue ruling.

DER SPIEGEL: The party still controls the power apparatus in the stricter sense of the word, the military and the police.

Wiatr: These forces are not the decisive ones today. However, this does not mean that they cannot be used under any circumstances.

DER SPIEGEL: Martial law again?

Wiatr: There are no conditions for a solution by force. The question is something totally different. The party is the only force in Poland that has trained manager cadres and an administrative apparatus. Neither Solidarity nor the Peasants' Party nor the Democrats have this. Years will pass until such cadres will have been trained; nothing will work without us.

DER SPIEGEL: One can learn how to rule and administer.

Wiatr: The Solidarity activists—Tadeusz Mazowiecki not excluded—do not have any idea what authorities are, they only know them as an enemy, which has to be fought against with political means. Now it is necessary that they themselves take over these authorities, put people into offices, and make decisions.

DER SPIEGEL: You count on the secret rulers of the nomenklatura?

Wiatr: This, too, will change, there is no doubt about it. But it cannot be done from today to tomorrow. The overwhelming majority of the leadership cadres in the economy and administration are party members. This is the state-supporting potential of the party. In addition, we are the ones that guarantee Poland's role in CEMA. No rain of dollars, which Solidarity is dreaming of, no matter whether it amounts to $10 billion or $100 billion, can help us if we, the only credible guarantor for Poland's membership in CEMA, are pushed out of the political game.

DER SPIEGEL: Is this a threat?

Wiatr: This is not a threat, just a sober statement. Of course, any such statement is rejected by Solidarity, and I am slowly getting fed up with this. If one reaches for power, one also has to start thinking in national categories. The time of the battle of words is over, now the time of the battle for power has come.

DER SPIEGEL: When the Polish Comrades found themselves in a tight spot in the past, they always threatened: Either we or the Russian tanks.

Wiatr: Today no one speaks about Russian tanks.

DER SPIEGEL: Do the Polish Communists feel abandoned by Gorbachev?

Wiatr: Not at all. We ourselves are responsible for everything we are doing. If this experiment fails, we will have to suffer the consequences. If Mazowiecki fails, this does not mean that we will win. Then everyone loses: Mazowiecki, Walesa, Solidarity, but we, too.

DER SPIEGEL: Would the proposals to rename the reform wing of the party be of any use?

Wiatr: This is of secondary importance. First, we have to find a formula for unity under the conditions of pluralism, then we can think about a new name. By the way, I am convinced that in Poland the current forces will fall apart very soon—much sooner than anybody at the roundtable could imagine. Perhaps there will be a split within Solidarity, perhaps also within the party.

Commentary Says Loyalty to Government Paramount

AU2808173589 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26-27 Aug 89 p 3

[Ryszard Wojna commentary: "A Measure of Civic Responsibility"]

[Text] There is no point in hiding the fact that the assumption of power by a new political constellation is the cause of many soul-searching questions among the several-thousand-strong community of higher state administrative and economic officials who as a rule are members of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR].

Until now, working for the government meant the same thing as realizing party policy and party membership meant active support for government policies.

In the present situation, state administration officials will find themselves in a situation hitherto unknown in the countries of so-called real socialism. The political outlook of the overwhelming majority that comprises the state apparatus will no longer correspond to the political views of the chairman of the Council of Ministers. Although the new government will be a coalition and include the PZPR, it is quite clear that the main political line will be dictated by the premier, a premier who has no desire to be a mere figurehead.

Such a situation is accepted as normal in countries where there is a parliamentary opposition, and where there are regular changes in the constellation of the governing forces. I have been able to observe this at first hand on a few occasions, for example in the FRG, where I could observe the reactions of my friends from the Social Democratic Party of Germany when their party was losing the elections. Their formal loyalty to the state was in no way changed. They remained conscientious executors of the new government line, even though this line was now dictated by a Christian Democratic Union chancellor. They voiced their opposition to the government at their party rallies or in statements made the mass media.

The ethos of the German civil servant is unattainable for the Poles. This ethos was forged by the iron hands of the generations of Prussian statesmen and Protestantism. (Have you noticed that in Protestant countries the administration, as a rule, functions more effectively and scrupulously? Apart from France, that is, where the administrative system comes straight from the Napoleonic reforms and allows the administration to echo the words of Louis XIV: "L'Etat c'est moi," regardless of who is in power....)

In Poland we only aspire to a level of political culture in which party affiliations would not interfere in the realization of the government's political program. Before the war there was no time to create such a culture in Poland. The loyalty of the administration to the government's politics and the political views of the governing parties was the order of the day and nobody talked of the nomenclatura. In the 1930's, the school director, the tax official, the stationmaster, let alone the district prefect or the local police chief could only have been someone who had proved his loyalty to the system. The opposition had to content itself with local and municipal government.

The reason Pilsudski's political camp, enjoying such complete power—a power that was based on the military intelligence's "second section" and the conspirational links from the times of the clandestine Polish Military Organization—did not produce social upheavals (the opposition parties did protest) was in large measure due to the fact that, after a century of subjugation, the institutions of ones' own state and their representatives enjoyed enormous prestige. This authority was enforced by force where necessary, and also by the great competence of the civil service.

Thus, the situation that confronts us has no precedence in the history of the modern Polish state. The majority of the civil service, often only formally linked to a party which has lost the monopoly on power, is now faced by the prospect of subordinating its private political views to the service of a state whose new premier now wishes to give a different political orientation than that which has prevailed to date.

I write this at a time when the political composition of the new government and the intentions of the premier are still unknown. From what, to date, have been oppositionist circles we hear that they see one of the greatest obstacles in the fact that the state administration is composed wholy of PZPR men. A thesis has been advanced that the whole of this administration will be hostile to the new government and is not in the least interested in its success.

Why is there such a thesis? I believe that we are now witnessing a negative reaction. The elimination of the so-called nomenclatura system was one of the opposition's standard slogans, and it follows that all the people in the system will be hostile to those who can threaten their positions by the implementation of a new professional staffing policy.

This is a great simplification, I admit, and I accept that in individual instances this mechanism of mutual suspicion may have negative efects on the interests of the state. People, after all, will be people. But this should not become a sweeping generalization and be indiscriminately applied to people who hold positions of varying degrees of responsibility in the state civil service.

Propagating the thesis about the unavoidable clash between Mazowiecki's government and the present administration only fuels the probability of such a conflict and conjures it up in places where there are no absolutely no grounds for such a conflict to exist.

Additionally, this thesis is only partly true.

The desire for an efficiently functioning state organism is, I believe, greater among the Polish civil service than in any other professional group in our society. The consciousness of the futility of one's own actions, additionally aggravated by the knowledge that the state mechanisms are failing, gives rise to the deep desire among these circles for a government that can effectively organize and direct the work of the administration. Further, if this government does not seek to pit society against the state—as the opposition has been successfully doing for the last 10 years—but instead gives the administration a feeling of community with society, then it will have the support of the lower and middle ranks of the state civil service.

At the senior levels the problem may be different. Such a radical change of government must bring in its wake important changes in the staffing of senior positions, and not just only at ministerial level. It is normal for the premier to distribute key positions to those people whom he trusts, or to those people whose qualifications are substantiated by the partners of the governing coalition. I have no idea how many posts this might involve. I believe that a few hundred such positions are regarded as critical for the government, with a few thousand more classed as important. In this group there will be important changes. (To this last group of several thousand I also add the post of commentator in the government paper....) This has to be accepted stoically, for such are the laws that govern democratic political life.

One only hopes that in this great reshuffle of senior administration positions we will not lose the highly specialized "servants of the state" (in France one uses this phrase to designate top civil servants) who are the most valuable asset of any ruling government. It will take many years for their successors to attain a comparable level of knowledge and expertise. Many of these top civil servants are so dedicated to their specialization that the opportunity to practice within their particular field far outweighs any considerations of the political motivation to which any government above them may be subject.

It will be some time yet before Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki can answer the question whether the scare stories GAZETA WYBORCZA—surely the most provocative paper in Poland today—publishes about the purported resistance that the new coalition will encounter from the nomenclatura, will in practice be borne out. Much will, of course, depend on the staffing policies at the highest levels that the new government adopts.

We will also need some time for the new rules of the game to crystallize and become recognizable to all parties and society. One of these rules, however, is beyond discussion, namely, the Polish state is the higher good of all Poles. It is above political divisions. The spirit of civic responsibility must place the supremacy of its constitutional government, with all those things subordinate to it and which form the state organism, on a higher plane than mere responsibility to one's own political party. This is the basic precondition for the effective government of a broad coalition, as well as for the functioning of parliamentary democracy in general.

It is important that we recognize the chance that a new premier and new character of the coalition presents for the Poles. A large part of society has waited a long time for the historic "changing of the guard" at ⅓ Aleje Ujazdowskie [address of the Council of Ministers]. It is in all our interests that Tadeusz Mazowiecki's mission succeeds.

Peasant Party Paper on Foreign Ministry Post

LD3008200389 Warsaw PAP in English
1835 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 30—The DZIENNIK LUDOWY Peasant Party daily carried today an interview with vice-chairman of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Committee, head of the Foreign Department of the United Peasant Party [UPP] CC [Central Committee] Jan Czaja on the controversies around nomination to the post of foreign minister. Excerpts:

"While putting on the political scales the weight of its 76 deputies' votes, the UPP rendered formation of the new coalition possible. The rules are that the partner ranking second in power and significance receives the most important, after premier, functions in the government, such a function being the office of minister of foreign affairs as one of the political posts in the cabinet.

"Thus, if the UPP does not receive such a post, I will think that since Mikolajczyk's times nothing has changed. The Peasant Party will remain a secondary force without political ennoblement.

"Our candidate is the party's chairman Roman Malinowski."

Recalling Malinowski's activity on the international scene and his initiatives as the former Sejm speaker, Czaja added that "the UPP chairman's advantages are also his economic education and deep knowledge of economic problems in our country and his capacity to formulate them in international contacts.

Labor Party Platform Planning Meeting Held

LD2908183689 Warsaw PAP in English
1734 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Bydgoszcz, Aug. 29—An information and programmatic meeting of Poland Labour Party (Stronnictwo Pracy) was held here as part in preparations for regional elections in the party.

Chairman of the provisional main board Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki stated that in its work the party wants to combine the christian world outlook with democracy. It derives the social and political ideas from the church teaching but it is organizationally independent. It is open to all professional and social milliuex, non-believers including.

Speaking on the programmatic goals of the party, Sila-Nowicki stressed that the possibilities for its operation, created recently, should not be missed. Poland will be such as we will build it, he said. We must bring ourselves to work better and tighten our belts. It is the only road for us towards better future, Sila-Nowicki stated.

Senate Begins Budget Debate on Amendments

LD3008114789 Warsaw PAP in English
1058 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 30—The sixth Senate meeting started today at 11:00 hrs a.m. The daily agenda included only one point, namely, the Senate's stand on the law on amendments to the state budget for 1989.

At the beginning of the debate, the Senate Accepted a proposal by Senate Speaker Andrzej Stelmachowski that the agenda be expanded by issues connected with the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War Two.

PAP Reports Senate Discussion of World War II

LD3008143889 Warsaw PAP in English
1353 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 30—Chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, Senator Janusz Ziolkowski presented a draft statement of the Senate referring to the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War Two, the

signing of the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact and entering Poland's territory by the Soviet Army on September 17, 1939.

After discussion, Senate Speaker Stelmachowski suggested that the authors of the statement should word it once again and prepare the text for Senate's vote.

Next, Senator Stefan Bembinski presented a draft statement of the Senate on the commemoration of the memory of soldiers and employees of the Polish underground state. The statement was passed by the chamber after making several amendments.

The Senate decided to invite to Poland General Stanislaw Maczek and other generals—commanders of the Polish Armed Forces who live abroad.

J. Kuberski Named Ambassador to Holy See

LD2608111189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] In connection with the reestablishment on 17 July of diplomatic relations between the Polish People's Republic and the Holy See, President Wojciech Jaruzelski has appointed Jerzy Kuberski ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PPR to the Holy See. Jerzy Kuberski has held the post of head of the team for permanent working contacts between the govermnent of the PPR and the Holy See, and since 17 July has been charge d'affairs of the Embassy of the PPR at the Vatican.

Comparison of ZDF Interview With Walesa

AU1908175489

FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German on 19 August on page 2, under the headline "Walesa Interview for ZDF: We Want to Catch up on 10 Years in 1 Day," carries 1,600-word "excerpts from the text of an interview" conducted by ZDF reporters Klaus-Peter Siegloch and Klaus Bresser with Solidarity leader Lech Walesa for the "ZDF Special Program: Changes in Poland," aired by ZDF television network on 17 August. Comparison of the item headlined "Walesa Interviewed on Formation of Government" published in the 18 August East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 35, column one, shows the two to be identical except for the following variations:

First paragraph, sentence one reads: ...[Text] [Bresser] Good day, Mr Walesa. I am very happy.

[Walesa] I must apologize. I am sorry, but I no longer know what my name is. You know that we want to catch up on 10 years in 1 day. I only have 12 minutes because I have already arranged another appointment.

[Siegloch] Yes, with Cardinal Glemp.

[Bresser] Let us begin, Mr Walesa. What next, Mr Walesa? We ask you here in one of the chambers of parliament: Who will govern the 37 million Poles in the future? The Communists did this for 41 years, and now power should suddenly be transferred to your trade union, Solidarity. This is hardly conceivable. Have you got used to the idea?

[Walesa] As a matter of fact, I find it difficult to get used to the idea. However, the "roundtable", to which this party and this power, which sat there together with us, has also contributed, represents pluralism. Pluralism also involves democracy and various rights. Those who were... (supplying additional passages);

Sixth paragraph, last sentence, to seventh paragraph, sentence one reads: ...minister?

[Walesa] Look, you are too quick again. We have put forward...(providing variant wording);

Seventh paragraph, sentences three to four read: ...must observe them. We have elected a president, and we must listen... (providing variant wording);

Eleventh paragraph, last sentence reads: ...will make the most beneficial decision, that is a decision that seems most beneficial to him.

[Bresser] At the... (providing variant wording, supplying additional passage, deleting paragraphs twelve and thirteen);

Paragraph fifteen, sentences three to six read: ...further development, including that of the Polish way, of Poland's history...My work is... (providing additional phrase, omitting two sentences);

Same paragraph, last sentence, through paragraph eighteen, sentence one, reads: ...[Bresser] Mr Walesa... (deleting paragraphs sixteen and seventeen);

Paragraph twenty, last sentence to end of item reads: ...much, Mr Walesa.

[Siegloch] Many thanks and much success.

[Walesa] I would like to tell the listeners and spectators that I had a very tough day today. I had talks with everybody, with all coalition partners, the president, a citizens' club, and with hundreds of journalists. This is very time consuming and very tiring. We will, of course, have more time the next time. All the best. (providing additional paragraphs).

Ceausescu Gives Interview to PRAVDA

AU2808081189 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Aug 89 pp 1, 5

["Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Interview to Soviet Daily PRAVDA," in Bucharest on 18 August]

[Text] As announced, on 18 August this year Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received Boris Yefimovich Averchebko, special envoy of the Soviet daily PRAVDA, to whom he gave the following interview:

Question: Esteemed Comrade Secretary General, first of all allow me, on behalf of PRAVDA's editorial staff and its many million of readers, to congratulate you on the great holiday of the Romanian people—23 August.

The Soviet people are aware that you, from early youth, participated actively in the revolutionary movement and later in the building of the new society on Romanian soil. Which of your aspirations have become true in the course of the country's 45-year development on the path of socialism?

Answer: This year, on 23 August, the Romanian people will celebrate the 45th anniversary of the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation, which led to the overthrow of the military-fascist dictatorship in our country, to the elimination of imperialist domination, and opened up the road toward great socioeconomic changes and later toward the socialist construction in Romania. At the same time, Romania joined, with all its forces, the Soviet Army and participated, fighting along with Red Army units, in the complete liberation of our country and later of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and part of Austria, and in the final victory over Hitlerite Germany. The Romanian Army participated in the antifascist war with more than 500,000 soldiers. Therefore, at that time, it was estimated that Romania ranked fourth among the countries that fought against Hitlerism.

Under those circumstances, relations between the Romanian and Soviet parties and peoples embarked on a new development path.

We highly assess the role of the Soviet Army in the struggle against Hitlerite Germany, in its defeat, and in the victory in World War II, which was an event of exceptional importance not only for Europe but also for all mankind.

We honored and will always honor the memory of the heroes and of all those people who fought during the war against Hitlerism, for freedom and independence!

As I have already mentioned, for Romania the victory of 23 August was a decisive event for its future development. In order to answer your question, I must say that 45 years ago Romania was a poorly developed, agrarian-industrial country with strong vestiges of feudalism. In this comparatively short period, Romania has passed through several stages: It has become an industrial-agrarian country with a powerful industry, organized on the basis of the latest scientific and technological discoveries, with a socialist agriculture whose progress is in full swing, and currently, it is in the stage of building the comprehensively developed socialist society.

In order to understand what all these mean for the Romanian people, I will mention that Romania's production today is 135 times higher than 45 years ago; more than 120 times since the Ninth RCP Congress. Agricultural production has increased by 10-fold; more than 6-fold since the Ninth Congress. The output of the other sectors has also increased accordingly. Noteworthy progress has been made in science, education, and culture, which we consider decisive factors for the socioeconomic development and for the successful building of the socialist society. All these ensured the general development of our country and raised our people's standard of living. During this period, national income has increased by more than 40 times; more than 33 times since the Ninth Congress of the party.

Why am I stressing the importance of the Ninth Congress? Because for us, it was a new event for the development of the Romanian socialist society and for ensuring the transition to establishing socialism—in accordance with realities prevailing in our country—based on the application of objective laws and socialist principles to these realities.

Since you have asked me to what extent the successes we have achieved are equal to my ideals and ideas at the time when I joined the workers movement and the RCP, starting from the great successes scored by the Romanian people in the socialist construction and in improving the people's material and cultural living standards, I must frankly admit that these achievements all outweigh my notions at that time.

Of course, I joined the workers movement with the firm conviction of the correctness of the party's policy and of socialism. I would like to tell you that the Soviet Union's achievements at that time helped stimulate us in Romania to overthrow the old social system.

No doubt, life and realities are not always as people imagine them at a certain time, but, referring to the great revolutionary changes and to the successes of the Romanian people on the path of socialism, I believe that, under the RCP's leadership, our people have obtained outstanding results in the construction of the new system, have eliminated a backwardness that had lasted hundreds of years, and ensured a strong development of the production forces. Therefore we state that, only under conditions of socialism, have we been able to obtain such results, and only because the RCP firmly applied the general laws and socialist principles, and fulfilled its mission entrusted to it by the people to lead them toward a better life and toward the socialist civilization.

We have achieved a great deal! We have extensively developed socialist democracy. We have proceeded and continue to proceed from the fact that we build socialism with the people and for the people. Therefore, our whole party and Romanian people highly value all these successes and are determined to do all they can in order to ensure the progress toward building the comprehensively developed socialist society and ensure the transition in the future to the communist society, which is the golden dream of mankind.

Question: No doubt that socialism has changed Romania's socioeconomic outlook. But socialism has also changed man himself. What do you think are the most characteristic features of your republic's citizens?

Answer: Having carried out major socioeconomic changes and having ensured a powerful development of production forces, science, education, and culture, we have really imparted a new look to Romania. Anybody who is visiting our country today can see the results scored in the development of industry and agriculture and in the construction of dwellings, schools, scientific central institutions, cultural establishments, health care establishments, and others.

All these have radically changed not only the country's look but also the life and cultural and civilization level of our people. We eliminated illiteracy long ago. All our young people are now enrolled in the 10-year education system, and about 80 percent in the 12-year education system, and as of next year, we are going to generally have a 12-year education system for all our young people. This has helped a great deal the professional, technical, scientific, and cultural training of our people and opened up new prospects to continue to improve our people's general level of training in the next period.

Socialist awareness has greatly developed. Our people have realized that they have been able to obtain all these great achievements by being true masters of the national wealth, eliminating oppressors forever, and building their own future in the way they desire. Therefore, increasing the level of socialist awareness constituted and constitutes an especially important factor for the entire development of the country. Our people are well aware of the fact that we owe all these important achievements to socialism, to the correct policy of the Communist Party, and to the cooperation with socialist countries—and, within this framework, I would like to underline the important role played by cooperation with the Soviet Union—and cooperation with all the other countries, regardless of social system.

Question: Is there any difference if we compare your generation and its combat spirit at that time with the generation of young communists today and their combat spirit?

Answer: First of all, the conditions are completely different. In the early 30's, Romania was under imperialist domination. Living and working conditions were very difficult. Young people, the revolutionary forces, and communists were engaged in defending the interests of the workers class and of the whole nation in the struggle against fascism, which started developing and, as is well known, won a victory in Hitlerite Germany in 1933. Young people were engaged with all their forces in the struggle against war. They faced terror, jails, and camps and many of them gave their lives in their firm belief in socialism and the freedom of their country and of their people.

Of course, young people nowadays are living under different conditions! However, I must tell you that our youth organization and young people in general manifest a revolutionary working and combat spirit and the firm determination to steadily implement the RCP policy of building socialism and advancing toward mankind's golden dream.

We highly value the activity and revolutionary working spirit of young people in all spheres and, of course, we are concerned with constantly improving their overall cultural, technical, and scientific level and equipping them with a revolutionary outlook of the world and life. We believe that young people thoroughly trained and educated in the spirit of the revolutionary ideals will have a good knowledge about socialism and will ensure the future of the people in the socialist society and in communism!

Question: To what extent has the RCP taken account of its country's national features and conditions during this period? What is the essence of the RCP's leading role in society and what means does it have for strengthening its prestige among the millions of working people?

Answer: During the early years of socialist construction, the RCP's activity was seen to somehow underestimate our country's realities and tend to imitate and apply in a mechanical fashion the realities of other countries. That is why, we particularly emphasize the importance of the Ninth Party Congress in 1965, which set the task of eliminating this underestimation, eliminating dogmatism, cliches, and conservatism—including the theory of a "single model" for building socialism—and applying the objective laws and the principles of scientific socialism to the realities and conditions in Romania. We say that we restored the party and the people's sense of confidence in their own efforts along with their sense of dignity and genuine independence in building socialism. However, we did this without contrasting Romania's policy with the policy of socialist construction in other countries! We have proceeded and continue to proceed from the fact that socialism is built in different ways in various countries and in various eras, and we believe that any departure from this principle signifies not the creative application of scientific socialism, but rather the violation of the objective laws and ideals of socialism, which, in one way or another, cannot fail to have an adverse impact on society's development.

We have been constantly concerned with continuously strengthening our party's political-organizational power.

Since the foundation of our first workers party in 1893, and since the formation of the RCP in 1921, we have always stressed and continue to stress the working-class nature of the party. We believe that the party should constantly remain the party of the workers class, always abide by the principles of revolutionary struggle, and continuously strengthen its ties with the peasantry, intelligentsia, and with the whole people. While being the party of the workers class, it must at the same time also be the party of the entire nation and fulfill our whole nation's aspirations for well-being, freedom, and building the socialist and communist society! Owing to its worker-revolutionary characteristics, our party has won and enjoys a high prestige among the people, and today it numbers more than 3.8 million members, of whom about 55 percent are workers, 18 percent are peasants, and 20 percent are intellectuals.

Question: Are you talking about workers "by birth" or by "occupation"?

Answer: I am referring to workers "by occupation." But if we consider their roots, taking into consideration that many intellectuals and activists in all areas rose from the ranks of workers, the proportion of workers in the RCP exceeds 70 percent! We are constantly pursuing the goal and we want the workers class—who are directly involved in production—to comprise the overwhelming majority of our party's members! We believe that this is the surest way to guarantee the preservation of the party's revolutionary spirit, and also the fulfillment of the role of the workers class as the leading class in society. When we say that we build socialism with the people and for the people, actually we do all we can to provide a real meaning to this thesis and to this concept.

I want to stress that we are determined to continue to strengthen the party and its leading political role in society and constantly develop its ties with the people, seeing this as a guarantee to continue to ensure our country's progress on the path of socialism!

Question: Talking about the application of the principles of socialism to the concrete conditions, are you also referring to intelligently using—I am particularly stressing the word "intelligently"—the experience gained by others?

Answer: The objective laws and principles of scientific socialism themselves represent a synthesis of the socialist and revolutionary theory and practice, which comprises the experience gained by many various countries in various stages in the development of human society. Therefore, there is no doubt that it is realistic to attach a great importance to the exchange of experience and to studying various practices and various theoretical concepts of other countries. We believe that all these are part and parcel of developing revolutionary practice and theory, and of ensuring the advance toward socialism. We have always proceeded from the fact that each party and each nation, through its activity, makes a contribution, not only to its own development, but also to the world revolutionary practice and theory, which thus become general assets of all of us!

Question: Romanian-Soviet relations are based on a firm foundation of treaties and have stood the test of time. How do you assess today the current state and the prospects of cooperation between our countries?

Answer: Traditional ties have existed between our countries since a very long time ago! In the years of socialist construction they have improved and developed on the basis of new principles. Although moments have emerged, so to speak, of the violation of the principles of cooperation, we have nevertheless overcome them and have worked to consolidate cooperation both between our parties and between our peoples. I want to re-emphasize that the relations of cooperation between the RCP and the CPSU, between our countries—as a matter of fact, just like relations with all the socialist states and with other communist and workers parties—have had, and continue to have, great significance for the development of socialism in both our countries.

In general we believe that the relations between our parties and countries can be assessed as good. And even if these were excellent, much would still have to be done, and we have to work to expand them in all spheres of activity! Incidentally, an exchange of opinions recently took place on the expansion of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation in the upcoming period and we are firmly convinced that paths will be found towards the development of this cooperation in forms that are in accordance with the interest of socialist construction in Romania and in the Soviet Union and which will serve the common cause of socialism and peace!

Question: You have frequently spoken about the stress on your own efforts under conditions of extensively developing international cooperation. In which areas, in your opinion, can Romania score the best results, utilizing its existing great potential and experience in the most diverse spheres?

Answer: We have always believed that we need to proceed from our own forces and capabilities in socialist construction and in our country's overall development, while at the same time extensively developing economic, scientific, and technological cooperation with other states. In this respect, we have always attached particular significance to developing cooperation with socialist countries and—within this framework—to developing relations with the Soviet Union and also with developing countries and developed capitalist countries, in the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

However, we have always believed that the development of relations with other states should be based on the principles of equality of rights, respect for independence and sovereignty, and noninterference in domestic affairs.

At one time, we underestimated our own capabilities and thought that we could resolve some of our problems

more rapidly by using credits. That is why, at one time, we had a very large foreign debt, which increased as a result of an increase in interest rates, which reached 20 percent.

Of course, we made great efforts to pay off our foreign debts and we eliminated them at the end of the first quarter this year and we have decided not to use credits any more!

Question: We received thousands of letters, which express admiration for Romania's leadership, which succeeded to lead the people in such a way as to eliminate this foreign debt. The following question is asked: What will the people gain from the fact that the debts have been eliminated?

Answer: First of all, I want to mention that, in paying off our foreign debts, we have not slowed down the pace of our socioeconomic development. In the period from 1980 through this year, we have made investments that total 2,000 billion lei, which in U.S. dollars, at a noncommercial rate is equivalent to about $200-220 billion. On this basis, we have been able to carry out major transformations in Romania and, at the same time, improve the people's standard of living.

Let me give a few examples: In the period from 1980 through this year, we have increased salaries and pensions twice! On 1 August we completed the second pay increase for all categories of working people. We paid particular attention to those people whose income was very small and we increased their pay by about 35 percent. Likewise, we increased pensions as well. In the case of some categories of pensioners, including war invalids, we increased pensions by more than 40 percent. We continued to develop industry—creating a large number of jobs—agriculture, science, and education. Also in this time, we have commissioned the Danube-Black Sea Canal, constructed the Bucharest subway, rebuilt the center of our capital city, implemented an extensive program for the irrigation system, and vigorously developed housing construction and other sectors of activity in all the towns and communes of our country. At the same time, we have canceled debts of agricultural production cooperatives that amount to 115 billion lei, which is equivalent to approximately $12-13 billion. This was a particularly important measure, which we took in order to assist agricultural production cooperatives and agriculture in general, a measure that emphasizes the potential of our national economy and means a great support for developing agriculture. As a matter of fact, this year we have obtained the biggest agricultural production in Romania's history—more than 8,000 kg of wheat per hectare throughout the country! In general, we estimate that we will obtain more than 40 million tonnes of grain, thus we will reach this year the level planned for the years 2000!

Thus, also in this period we concerned ourselves with developing the economy and raising the standard of living, which increased our ability to repay the foreign debts. Had we reduced investments, we would not have been able to develop our economy and we would not have the means to pay our foreign debts!

This is Romania's industrial and agricultural potential today. Nevertheless, I want to repeat, this does not make us reduce cooperation with other countries and we do not intend to do so. On the contrary! Today we have an active balance in relations with other countries of approximately $2.5 billion and we are determined to take part in production sharing and in building economic facilities with other states within the limits of the capabilities of the Romanian economy, and even in granting some credits for socioeconomic development.

Question: Where do you see the need for restructuring in the mechanism for cooperation between CEMA countries?

Answer: Romania has always attached particular significance to cooperation within the CEMA and we believe that in general terms, CEMA has played an important role in cooperation between, and the development of, socialist countries. Of course, certain mistakes have also been made. They must be subjected to criticism and eliminated, but this does not mean that we must deny the good elements!

CEMA has played an important role! We have improved it and we have directly participated in various actions in this respect. Recently decisions were adopted regarding the improvement of its activity and long-term programs have been elaborated up to the year 2000, including scientific-technical cooperation programs, which we consider to be good programs and to which we are determined to make our contribution toward their implementation. You may be surprised, or some of your readers may be surprised, but we believe that the current CEMA mechanism is in accordance with the current conditions and there is no need to modify it and attempt to replace it with things about which we have no clear idea! Of course, new elements must constantly be introduced. Nothing is everlasting in any sphere. Therefore, we must constantly improve our forms of cooperation in accordance with new conditions, with the development of society, science, and culture, and with the actual development of people's consciousness, while exploiting all the good elements. In particular, if the changes are not based on thorough preparations, even the best intentions may damage the economy and the social system as a whole! This holds true not only in socialism, but also in any other society. Things should be approached after thorough study and thorough preparations, in the light of practical work and the experience accumulated so far.

In this respect, we advocate the development and improvement of CEMA activity in close cooperation with, and consent of, all countries to ensure that everything we do serves the socialist development of every country and socialism as a whole!

Question: You personally, Comrade General Secretary, have frequently spoke out for increasing the role of small and medium-size countries in international relations.

What effect, in your opinion, is the increasingly widespread idea of the new political thinking having on this issue? How can Romania contribute to the affirmation of the principles of a nonviolent and nuclear-free world?

Answer: In its international activity, Romania has always worked and continues to work for solutions to the complex and serious problems of our times, in the interest of socioeconomic progress, disarmament, and peace.

We believe that disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, is a fundamental issue now. It is well known that existing nuclear weapons can destroy all of mankind several times over. We welcomed the agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States in connection with strategic missiles, concluded 16-17 year ago, but which continues to be valid. We also welcomed the accord on abandoning intermediate-range weapons, although it is well known that they represent a drop in the ocean of nuclear weapons. The NATO countries have decided to modernize short-range missiles and tactical missiles, which means an increase in their destructive force by a factor of approximately four, once again fully confirming and affirming that they are retaining the so-called doctrine of "nuclear deterrence," which in effect means the continuation of the arms race.

Therefore, Romania believes that international activity must focus on the implementation of appropriate agreements regarding the complete elimination of nuclear weapons, in accordance with the proposals made by the Soviet Union. Nuclear tests must be finally abandoned and the militarization of outer space must be halted, while, at the same time, agreements should be reached on the elimination of chemical weapons.

We firmly speak out for the conclusion of appropriate agreements in Vienna on a substantial reduction in conventional weapons. The socialist countries proposed a 25 percent cut, to begin with. We support this proposal, although we believe we should have a greater reduction, of around 50 percent. However, we are working together with the socialist countries, and we hope that an agreement will be reached as soon as possible, so as to proceed to a cut in conventional arms.

As far as we are concerned, Romania not only talked about arms reduction, but has actually reduced armaments, troops, and military expenditures! According to data issued now, Romania has the smallest military expenditures per capita in Europe! They amount to about 3 percent of the national income and next year we plan to bring them below the 3 percent margin.

Among other things, it is thanks to this reduction in military expenditures that we managed to repay our foreign debt and also ensured the necessary means for our socioeconomic development.

We have often emphasized that the decisive role in the defense against any kind of aggression is played by socioeconomic development and by the growth of the people's living standard.

Of course, we have to take care of our defensive capability, but we are doing this in a rational way, so as to ensure the country's overall development and the true defense against any kind of aggression.

In this spirit, we have always stressed that serious problems, particularly the problem of disarmament, cannot be solve by several states alone. We do not underestimate the role of the large countries, but we believe that the problems of disarmament and peace are of concern to all nations and states! Therefore, we have always voiced our firm conviction that the small and medium-sized countries and the developing and nonaligned states must play an active role in promoting a policy of disarmament and peace and finding solutions to complicated problems, including those pertaining to the world economy. Only by taking joint action will the peoples be able to solve, in an equitable and democratic manner, the key problems of ensuring true freedom and independence for each nation!

Of course, there are many problems in the international life! Indeed, there is much talk about a "new way of thinking." However, this presupposes a radical change in the actions of states and politicians. When one talks about the need for a "nuclear deterrent," that is a force in international life, it is hard to claim that everybody understood the importance of the new way of thinking! One should thoroughly renounce the policy of force, dictate, and interference in the affairs of other states! Likewise, it is necessary to renounce the military doctrines based on the destruction of civilization itself and to proceed to a new and real policy of equal cooperation among all states in the world!

What has the NATO meeting and the meeting of the seven heads of states of the richest capitalist countries had to offer? They ignored the realities and requirements of the Third World and of the developing countries as well as the serious social problems of their own countries! These meetings offered us a reiteration of the doctrine of the "nuclear deterrent," which this time was supplemented with another doctrine, namely that of the destabilization of socialist countries under the pretext of trying to "help" them to return to capitalism! But this has nothing in common with the new economic order and represents a gross and brutal violation of the UN Charter, other international agreements, and the principles of peaceful coexistence! It actually amounts to a return to the black days of the cold war!

Indeed, it is necessary to firmly reject the policy promoted by these states and to do all we can to pool the efforts of all realistic and progressive forces, of the socialist and developing countries, and all nations that really want peace and equal cooperation among all nations in the world! Only thus will we be able to affirm

that we are making progress toward a new way of thinking and a new policy in international relations, and we must work along these lines!

In this respect—to complete my answer to your question—Romania is ready to actively cooperate with all socialist countries and all countries and peoples advocating disarmament, peace, and equal cooperation.

We have always advocated and wish to develop ties with the developed capitalist countries. We believe that the problem of the superiority of one or another system must be decided by history and by the nations themselves; hence, all outside interference should be excluded.

As far as we are concerned, we have full trust, regardless of hardships that may occur, in the cause of socialism and in the force and will of nations to be free and independent! This is how Romania will continue to work in the future, too.

Question: The RCP is preparing for the 14th Party Congress. What main problems will the Communists discuss at this supreme party forum?

Answer: Next November we will hold the 14th RCP Congress. Preparations for the Congress have actually begun in May last year, with the discussion by the entire party of the April Theses of the Political Executive Committee [PEC] of our party's Central Committee, which summed up the current stage of Romania's development and its future prospects; these preparations continued with the documents of last November's democratic forum—attended by the party Central Committee and all democratic bodies in Romania, that is some 5,000 people—which gave concrete shape to and expanded the April Theses.

At last June's plenum, we adopted the documents for the 14th RCP Congress—the program-directive on socioeconomic development in the Ninth 5-Year Plan and on future prospects up to the year 2000 and, in several spheres, up to the year 2010, as well as the theses on the party-state general activity. These documents have been published and are now being discussed by the party and the whole nation.

What are our goals? Setting out from the balance-sheet and results to date—which we consider as good, thus proving the rightness of socialism as society's organizational form and the correctness of our party policy in implementing these principles—we intend to proceed to a new kind of development. In view of the fact that next year we will have reached the great strategic goal of raising Romania to the level of a medium-developed socialist country, we plan to proceed to a superior stage, namely the construction of the comprehensively developed socialist society. This presupposes that, by the year 2000, we must increase our national economic growth by some 80 percent, and, in several fields, actually double our economic development, something which will be accordingly reflected in the growth of national income and in the improvement of the people's working and living conditions. We plan to do this by laying emphasis on the intensive development of all fields of activity, by taking steps to modernize and improve organization in all spheres, by firmly applying the latest achievements of science and technology, and by improving the principles of self-management, self-administration, and self-financing. As a matter of fact, I should point out that, as of this year, we will practically no longer produce items without a certain degree of profitability. We want to firmly base activities in all spheres on the economic principles of profitability and efficiency, by reducing expenditures, increasing labor productivity, and raising the qualitative and technical level of production. We aim at improving the remuneration system on the basis of socialist principles. We firmly set out from the fact that nobody may have income without work, or live from the exploitation of the work of others; we are also taking steps to achieve an equitable ratio between large and small incomes. We have already come down from the ratio of 1 to 20 between large and small incomes, as was the case in 1950, to the present ratio of 1 to 4.7, and we plan to reduce it further, to 1 to 4.5, in the next decade. Of course, in doing this, we also leave open the possibility that, on the basis of work done, everyone may earn as much as one produces.

These principles have proved to be good, and life has shown that they are in accordance with the conditions of socialist construction in Romania!

We took firm steps to totally forbid profiteering and consumer price hikes! In the past 5 years, although the plan provided for a certain annual increase of 0.5-1 percent, there have been no price increases whatsoever, and we consider this to be one of our socialist state's obligations. We do not subscribe to the thesis of the so-called "free market," because this implies freedom for profiteering, which is to the detriment of the working people and nation! Of course, everything we produce we produce for the people and, to a certain extent for the market. We do not produce items for storage, but we cannot permit a random distribution of these products! We strive to provide the people with everything that they require for a dignified life, in accordance with scientific prerequisites, but we will not permit and will totally exclude profiteering!

In the future we plan to further increase social expenditures, so that by the year 2000 we can ensure an ever more equitable living standard for all the country's citizens. We do not intend to achieve a petty-bourgeois egalitarianism, nor do we want to have the inequalities of capitalism! We want to create such conditions as to have no poor people and no "rich" people living from the work of others. We want to have a people with a dignified and plentiful life, on the basis of each citizen's free work.

We believe that only thus will we create the necessary conditions for our further progress toward the implementation of the communist principles of life and work!

It is in this light that one should view our concern for bringing the living conditions of the working people in towns and villages closer together. We do not believe in having developed towns and backward communes and villages. We want to create working and living conditions that are as similar as possible for both, thus strengthening the people's unity and ensuring our progress toward communism, in full unity!

Question: You are very well known in the Soviet Union, because you have been at the head of the RCP for almost 25 years. I believe I am not wrong in asserting that you are a professional revolutionary. In this respect, I would like to ask you what are your greatest concerns?

Answer: Indeed, I can say that, from the very beginning and from the first years of my activity in the workers movement and later in the Communist Party, I acted as a professional revolutionary, and I believe that a good party activist should be a professional revolutionary even in the current circumstances.

What do I mean by this?

In my opinion, this means giving priority to the problems of socialist development. Of course, in the old circumstances, pride of place was given to the struggle against oppression. In the new conditions, priority is given to the struggle to build socialism and commendably apply the socialist principles in all spheres. One cannot be a communist and revolutionary if one does not work with all one's might and ability to achieve these targets! To be a professional revolutionary also means to struggle to further strengthen the party and its leading role in society, which does not mean to put the party above society, but rather to closely link it to the whole nation, so as to always serve the people and socialist construction.

This has always been my concern and it still is today. I believe that there is no other concern more important for a communist, hence for me too, than to serve the party, people, socialism, and the country's independence and sovereignty as well as the policy of disarmament, peace, and cooperation with all states in the world!

Question: Esteemed Comrade Ceausescu, thank you very much for giving this interview to PRAVDA. How about concluding it with a kind of forecast? Would you agree to share with PRAVDA readers your visions and aspirations of today regarding Romania's image in the 21st century?

Answer: How do we see our prospects along the road of socialism and communism?

We have wonderful prospects! What we have achieved to date gives us confidence and the guarantee that we will achieve our goals. In short, here is what we want. We want to successfully fulfill the program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society in Romania, to promote the overall development of the forces of production, science, and culture, and to raise the people's general level of professional and cultural knowledge. We hope to achieve, by the year 2000, a workers class with a high professional and cultural level—or, as we say, an intellectual workers class—and an intellectual peasantry; at the same time, we want to increase the overall knowledge of intellectuals. As a matter of fact, as I said last year at the opening of the new school year, in the year 2000 we would like to have a people with a high level of culture, science, and civilization, because only thus can we guarantee the fulfillment of communist targets and the construction of a better and more just society.

Practice will show how the various facets of the communist society will take concrete shape! Basically, we believe that we should achieve such a development stage as to create dignified working and living conditions for all members of society and ensure full freedom and the strong development of the revolutionary workers democracy, on the basis of the principles of the people's direct participation in running society.

Thus, one will be able to say that what the fathers of scientific socialism thought years ago is implemented in actual life! These are our aspirations concerning Romania, and we are fully confident that at the beginning of the third millennium, Romania will be a strongly developed country, with a high level of socialist culture and civilization.

We are confident in the socialist future, generally speaking, throughout the world! We believe that this is the road for all peoples!

We are optimistic about the development of cooperation with the socialist countries and other states, and we have complete trust in the victory of reason, through a policy of disarmament, peace, and equal cooperation among all nations in the world!

In conclusion, I would like to extend to PRAVDA readers and all USSR peoples best wishes for success in their socioeconomic development, socialist construction, and progress toward communism!

Hungarian Leaders Greet Ceausescu on Holiday

AU3008194189 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 26 Aug 89 p 5

[Message from Hungarian leaders to Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, and to Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Romanian Government, on 23 August, the national day of Romania]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and to Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania:

On the anniversary of Romania's national holiday, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], the Presidential Council, and the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, we convey to you and to the Romanian people our friendly salute and our best wishes, and we wish you much success in the work of building the country.

On this occasion we also emphasize our belief that the historic and neighborly ties between our peoples, as well as the expansion of European cooperation, make imperative the need to normalize and develop the relations between our countries in all areas. We believe that the controversial issues, which set up important obstacles today, can be solved through joint efforts and in accordance with the interest of our peoples.

Rezso Nyers, MSZMP chairman

Karoly Grosz, MSZMP general secretary

Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic

Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic

Cyprus Sends Greetings on National Day

AU3008192389 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Aug 89 p 5

[Telegram from the Central Committee of the Restorative Party of the Working People of Cyprus to the Romanian Communist Party on Romania's national day]

[Text] On the 45th anniversary of the 23 August 1944 armed insurrection, the Central Committee of the Restorative Party of the Working People (AKEL) of Cyprus extends to the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and the Romanian people warmest congratulations and wishes for new successes in the noble struggle for peace, democracy, and socialism, to the benefit of all nations.

The Central Committee of the Restorative Party of the Working People (AKEL) of Cyprus

Environmental Disagreements With Romania Noted

LD3008151989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1312 GMT 30 Aug 89

[By Petar Tomic]

[Text] Bucharest, Aug 30 (TANJUG)—The recent reports in Yugoslav newspapers on the suspicious clouds of dust along the banks of the Danube River across from Romania and speculation on the increased radiation levels of the waters near Kladovo, Republic of Serbia, have been described in Romania as "insulting."

The Romanian side has retorted that, if the radiation level near Kladovo is indeed above normal, the blame should be sought "among those who have nuclear power plants and other nuclear installations nearby." There are no radioactive pollutants on the territory of Romania, the Romanians have said.

Bucharest denies the existence of an "ecological dispute" between the two countries and recalls that during Romanian Deputy Foreign Minister Konstantin Oancha visit to Belgrade ten days ago, no-one raised the question of pollution.

According to Bucharest, Romania has not received any complaints to this effect, not even through the joint commission of Yugoslav-Romanian environment protection experts.

The Yugoslav side claims, however, that so far, there have been several unsuccessful attempts to start talks on ecological problems with Romania.

During the last Yugoslav-Romanian top-level meeting in December last year, for example, the then Yugoslav President Raif Dizdarevic tried to include ecological problems on the agenda of the talks but Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu disagreed to this and only agreed to listen to Yugoslavia's stand on the issue.

Due to the controversial issues of ecology and the position of minorities, a joint statement was not issued at the end of the visit.

At every attempt to initiate talks on pollution and establish concrete bilateral measures, Romania cited laws under which enormous sums of money were being invested in river flood control. Yugoslavia has responded to this by saying that the laying down of concrete on river beds was not enough to prevent the pollution of surface waters into which waste from plants and livestock farms is spilled.

A report in one of the latest issues of the Romanian economic weekly REVISTA ECONOMICA said that the waters in 73 percent of Romania's rivers was of first quality. This percentage fell to 28 percent two years ago and is today even lower. The biggest polluters are, writes the magazine, the chemical and petro-chemical industries, agricultural farms and the food industry. The author of the article warns that effective measures for the protection of surface waters are urgently needed. The scientists have recently been joined in their requests by the citizens who are sending sharp protests to the press on the pollutants.

On the international level, Romania advocates stricter ecological policies and proposes that the United Nations adopt an international program for environment protection. It even supports the proposal that ecology be included in the program of cooperation in the Balkans.

Most frequently, however, Romania is unwilling to discuss the problem when it arises within the framework of bilateral relations. Thus, for example, Romanian representatives simply did not show up at the recently scheduled meeting of Yugoslav and Romanian experts at the border town of Jasa Tomic which was to have established pollution levels of the River Tamis. Allegedly, they had not received the invitations on time.

Presidency Statement Issued on Nonaligned Summit

LD3008170789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1425 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Belgrade 30 Aug (TANJUG)—Preparations for the ninth summit of nonaligned countries have drawn to a close, and everything is ready for the start of the conference, according to a statement from today's session of the SFRY Presidency presided over by Dr Janez Drnovsek. The SFRY Presidency has carried out final consultations on the eve of the ninth conference of the nonaligned heads of state or government in Belgrade. Confidence was expressed, the statement says, that Yugoslavia, as it always has up to now, will be a fitting host of this exceptionally significant meeting, that all our working people and citizens will do everything possible to make our guests feel comfortable, and to provide all the necessary conditions for successful work at the conference.

The SFRY Presidency discussed and endorsed a report on a working meeting in Venice between Dr Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Francesco Cossiga, president of the Italian Republic. The talks held on that occasion, as assessed at the session of the SFRY Presidency, were very cordial, in the spirit of friendship and close cooperation between the two countries in many areas. Particular mention was made of political and economic cooperation between the two countries, in particular in tourism and the protection of the Adriatic.

The SFRY Presidency also endorsed a report on the official visit by Maha Vajiralongkorn, Crown Prince of Thailand, and established that this visit helped to draw together and further improve relations between the two countries.

At today's session, the participants also discussed the political and security situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo. On the basis of views and proposals by appropriate federal organs and the

Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Presidency of the SAP of Kosovo, the SFRY Presidency decided that another number of measures introduced on 27 February this year should be repealed, so that apart from measures ordering a strengthened level of alertness and readiness of all organs and organizations, in force, there still remains a ban on gathering with the intention to demonstrate, and a commitment to work in only five work organizations.

On this occasion as well, the SFRY Presidency pointed out the significance of a consistent and speedier implementation of tasks from the Yugoslav program on Kosovo, strengthened political work with working people and citizens, in particular with youth, and concluded that the situation and directions for long-term activities for the stabilization of the overall situation in this province should be looked at soon in a comprehensive manner.

At today's session, the SFRY Presidency also adopted a decision to pardon a certain number of convicted persons, which means that 57 persons are exempt from further imprisonment, while 14 persons are partially exempt from imprisonment, the statement from the session of the SFRY Presidency concludes.

New Apartments To House Summit Participants

LD3008171689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1345 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 30 Aug (TANJUG)—President of the Federal Executive Council [FEC] Ante Markovic today visited the Genex business and housing complex in New Belgrade, one of the new facilities built in a record time of 8 months.

The first to move into the "Genex Apartments" will be the participants in the nonaligned summit, and later they will be used as commercial facilities.

The FEC President expressed his satisfaction with the successfully completed business undertaking and at a meeting with Genex's top management he stressed that "the promise has been kept." The FEC President was a guest of Genex while construction was still under way, and was told that everything would be done to have the building ready for the nonaligned summit. [passage omitted]

Protest Against Jovo Opacic's Arrest Continues

AU2908090689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Aug 89 p 14

[TANJUG report: "Protest Continues in Knin"]

[Text] Knin, 22 Aug—Dissatisfied with the responsible representatives of the sociopolitical organizations and the sociopolitical community of Knin concerning their calls for the release of Jovo Opacic from prison, some 70 inhabitants of Plavno came to Knin at about 2130 last night with the same demand. Carrying a state flag and the picture of Josip Broz Tito, they shouted in the city center, in the Square of Dalmation Brigades, the following slogans: "Long live Yugoslavia"; "Long live Tito"; "Long live brotherhood and unity"; "We want Jovo [Opacic, one of participants in the celebration of the Battle of Kosovo anniversary near Knin], we want justice."

After a talk with the representatives of the Knin sociopolitical community, the inhabitants of Plavno spent the night in the square.

The protest was caused by the news that after having served the prison sentence of 40 days, Opacic's sentence was extended, which is to say that criminal proceeding have meanwhile been initiated against him. However, the misunderstanding appears to lie in the fact that Opacic was sentenced to 40 days imprisonment by the judge for misdemeanors, but that after the appeal of the Knin Communal Secretariat for Internal Affairs to the court for misdemeanors, his sentence was extended by 10 days, making it therefore 50 days in all, something the majority of the inhabitants of Plavno had not known about.

However, even after this information was presented to them, the inhabitants of Plavno have not refrained from their demands. This morning they hoisted banners: "Defending Jovo, we are defending ourselves"; "Today Jovo, tomorrow...."

Shortly before 1200, after yet another round of talks with the representatives of the sociopolitical organizations and the sociopolitical community of Knin, the five-member delegation of Plavno left for Sibenik where it will visit Jovo Opacic and present its views to the Sibenik Public Prosecutor's Office.

'Solidarity' Meeting at Batajnica

AU2908200889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] A meeting of solidarity with the home region began at Batajnica, near Belgrade at 1800. It was organized by immigrants from northern Dalmatia. The reason, they say, involves some undesirable events in the wake of the celebration of the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo held in the Knin region. Here is a report by our correspondent Nebojsa Spajic, who attended the meeting:

The meeting that ended some 20 minutes ago was attended by about 2,000 people. The speakers, representatives of Batajnica and Zemun, as well as immigrants from northern Dalmatia, mostly spoke about the well-known, albeit not always recognized, facts about the rights and position of Serbs in Croatia. They particularly stressed their support for the, as they put it, unjustly arrested Jovo Opacic. Demands of a similar kind featured on the banners, for example: "Freedom for Cyrillic Script and the Serbs in Croatia," "Freedom for Jovo,"

"Freedom of Speech," "The Zora Society Must Exist", and "Opacic, Forgive Them, For They Know Not What They Do."

At the end of the meeting, a message was sent to the Yugoslav public and the bodies of the Federation and of the Republic of Croatia. Among other things, the message includes the demand that an end be put to the verbal war waged against the population of northern Dalmatia, and that the (?constitutional) rights of the members of all peoples and nationalities [word indistinct] in Croatia be guaranteed. An appeal was sent to all citizens of the Knin region to oppose the aggravation of interethnic misunderstandings.

And, finally, we received some interesting news from the organizers of the meeting in the Batajnica local community. Members of the Sava Society had been asked not to behave excessively at the meeting, and so they arrived at the meeting clean-shaven.

Mitrovica Body Discusses Albanian 'Excesses'

AU3008190189 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] A communique was issued on today's meeting of the Titova Mitrovica All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection Committee, stating that excessive actions based on positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism directed against the People's Army of Yugoslavia have become more frequent in our province. This further burdens the already complicated and difficult political and security situation.

On 25 August, two pupils of the Meto Bajraktari Secondary School of Titova Mitrovica, both of them of Albanian nationality, threw stones at sentries of the local garrison. This excessive act was condemned by all honest citizens, regardless of their nationality. The behavior of these adolescents cannot be considered in any other manner except as a hostile action based on a position of Albanian nationalism and separatism. The appropriate organs of the security services in Titova Mitrovica identified the perpetrators of this act immediately and initiated penal procedures against their parents.

The All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection Committee of the commune also examined the situation at the Stari Trg open cast mine, where a strike is in progress. According to the miners, the reason for the strike is the delay in payment of their personal wages for July. The appropriate organs are taking measures to overcome the very serious situation in this collective.

Democrats Call for Federal Government Protection

LD2908125489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1048 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Split, August 29 (TANJUG)—The sponsoring committee of the so-called Peaceable Democratic Movement of Split has urged the Yugoslav public to protect the federal government of Premier Ante Markovic, which it said was the target of an "organized campaign."

In a statement released in Split yesterday, the committee specified that the newly inaugurated democratic initiative, which was openly advocated by Premier Markovic, was under attack and that bureaucratic circles in the country wanted to remove Premier Markovic from office because of his policy along those lines.

The (?government) of Premier Markovic is under attack because of steadily declining standard of living and hyperinflation (whose annual rate now stands at around 800 percent). The fiercest criticism of Premier Markovic's policy is heard in Serbia, the largest republic, and the underdeveloped parts of the country.

The critics of the Markovic team demand that the Federal Government adopt a special anti-inflation programme and new social policy measures, insisting that inflation cannot be combated only by means of a transformation of economic work organizations and higher production.

The leadership of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, itself, last week called for an anti-inflation programme, assessing that the economic measures taken to date by the Federal Government were inadequate to check and cut inflation.

The supporters of Premier Markovic's policy, however, view the calls for an anti-inflation programme as anti-reformatory and contrary to market economy.

Premier Markovic, who received support from all six republics and two autonomos provinces, took over office in mid-march, when he offered a platform of an open and market-oriented economy, directed to production programmes and closer ties with the rest of the world.

The Markovic team succeeded the federal government of Premier Branko Mikulic, the first federal government to fall in Yugoslavia since the war, at a time when the annual inflation rate in Yugoslavia was still at a two-digit level.

Mitrovic Assesses Anti-Inflation Measures

LD3008170989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1412 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 30 (TANJUG)—The market-oriented economic programme of the Yugoslav Government is totally anti-inflationary, the government is rapidly preparing additional anti-inflation measures, the first package of which will be discussed at its session tomorrow, Yugoslav Deputy-Prime Minister Aleksandar Mitrovic told TANJUG today.

In the statement, which came after repeated public demands that the government adopt an anti-inflation programe, Mitrovic stressed that the cabinet of Prime

Minister Ante Markovic does not intend to fight inflation, whose annual rate last month exceeded 788 percent, by freezing prices and salaries.

Mitrovic said that talks with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank will resume in September, stressing that the government's concept of economic policy and of measures aimed at curbing inflation enjoy unreserved support of those institutions. The two financial institutions, said Mitrovic, ask, however, whether the concept will be adopted in the Assembly of Yugoslavia and whether it will be consistently implemented in the entire country and note that it has not succeeded to halt inflation as speedily as required.

Mitrovic underlined that the government's anti-inflation moves will be exceptionally tough and economically rigorous and will, accordingly, require a high degree of financial discipline and an agreement in society as to their implementation. Mitrovic said that, if the measures are consistently implemented, inflation may be halted at the end of the year and could begin to decline next year.

He stressed that the objective of all anti-inflation measures is to eliminate the systemic generators of inflation, adding that the government will this autumn determine budget deficits from the commune to the federation and come up with a monetary reform, with renomination of the dinar as its technical segment, maybe even late this year.

A successful implementation of these measures requires that changes of the economic system be fully implemented and the government will soon put for approval before the Assembly of Yugoslavia systemic laws on labour relations, foreign currency and and foreign trade operations, the taxation system, free trade zones and money and securities market, said Mitrovic.

'Political Trickery' Seen at Farmers' Meeting

AU2908183189 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] The farmers' meeting held in front of the SFRY Assembly in Belgrade yesterday has shown very convincingly that the farmers have decided to have an essential influence on the financial position of agriculture, as well as on their own financial position. True, they agree with the measures proposed by the Federal Executive Council, but they also justifiably demand that these measures should not be just adopted at the Assembly, but also consistently implemented. Here is Ratomir Vitanovic:

[Vitanovic] The farmers have once again proved that they will not stop demanding that the financial position of agriculture, as well as their own position, should be improved. The kind of measures that they demand from the authorities would certainly do agriculture and society good. They justifiably ask for short-term and long-term programs on the development of agriculture. They want clean bills. The demands read in front of the SFRY Assembly include the farmers's desire to know what is happening with the 21,000 billion dinars allocated for agriculture. It is obvious that a part of that money gets lost and does not reach the rural areas.

By issuing its regulations about 10 days ago, the Federal Executive Council has met many of the farmers' demands. It is now the SFRY Assembly which has to make the next move, both as a legislator and a controller of how regulations are implemented. All of these measures must be included in the SFRY Assembly agenda by the beginning of October and must also be adopted by that time. Therefore, great responsibility and obligations are borne by those people who are deciding about the fate of the said measures.

With the present economic policy, farmers' hands are tied and they cannot work successfully and live better. Using ordinary language devoid of empty phrases and avoiding written reports, the farmers have informed the public not only about their troubles, but also about what a healthy and economical policy in agriculture should look like.

It is not good that the federal secretary for agriculture, the first man of agricultural policy, addressed them only after the second, long summer shower had stopped, 5 hours after the beginning of the meeting. If one adds here that the technical preparations for the meeting had been made in a hurry, all of this may confirm the feeling among the farmers that they have remained second-class citizens.

The farmers have decided that if the Assembly does not adopt the proposals of the Federal Executive Council, they will come to Belgrade again in the beginning of October. However, they will probably not be so patient then as they were yesterday.

One should say, however, that there were some people among the participants in the meeting who wanted to use this meeting for some new political trickery. Among all of the justifiable, honest, and true words and dignified conduct, their attempts have not been accepted.

Commentary Views Government Agricultural Plans

AU2808140689 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 20 Aug 89 p 5

[Ljubomir Cucic commentary: "Peasants' Rebellion 1989"]

[Text] Ante Markovic, head of the Yugoslav Government, has a clear vision of the reform, of "new socialism," and of an economy given over to the market and freed from the tutorship of the state. It is not difficult to agree with this, even in the regions where such visions are presented through very special one-dimensional political rhetorics and attributed an essence that has less to do with reform and more with nationality.

With its activity in practice during past few months, the government has clearly shown that the market criterion is really its only yardstick for evaluating, formulating, and realizing the economic policy measures, so in principle there should be no dilemma about whether it follows the guidelines of market transformation. However, Markovic's view is obstructed by galloping inflation, as well as the authentic farmers' discontent in the entire country and the inauthentic embodiment of this discontent—people's rallies—in some of its parts. Regardless of the fermentation of the former that has been going on for almost half a century and the current political inspiration of the latter, the government's policy toward agriculture has justifiably been in the focus of the Yugoslav public's interest. It reflects the reform orientation of the economic policy in general, but also shows that some of the measures have been made hastily and that they include some inconsistencies and even shortcomings.

The World Price of Wheat

The government's decisions to purchase the surplus of agricultural products and to intervene with goods from commodity reserves are perfectly faultless when evaluated from the point of view of anti-inflation policy. If one makes comparisons between the domestic and world price of labor and between labor productivity in our country and the one in developed countries, the purchase price of wheat of 3,000 dinars per kilogram is at the level of the so-called world prices. On the London exchange, wheat (for immediate delivery) is sold nowadays for 107 pounds per tonne, that is, 4,173 dinars per kilogram. In Chicago, a bushel of wheat (27 kilograms) costs $4, that is, 3,640 dinars per kilo. One must say, however, that wheat can be bought in the EEC, whose silos are overflowing with millions of tonnes of unsold surplus, for about half the purchase price in our country. If the government's anti-inflation logic is taken to the absurd, it would be almost better to buy wheat from foreign farmers than from domestic farmers. Therefore, the government's decision on the purchase price of 3,000 dinars (which the market managed to bring to 4,000 and more) is correct—it represents the median point between the world market offer and the interest in supporting agricultural production in our country.

In fact, the ambiguousness of the government's decision lies elsewhere. Although the established purchase price of wheat corresponds to world standards, the domestic farmer, who gets less than $1 for 1 hour of his labor with his present productivity, also has a perfect right to be discontented. The government has established an objectively low wheat price without taking the conditions of sowing and harvesting into consideration. It would have certainly been good if, before deciding about the minimum purchase prices, the Federal Executive Council had started the initiative on solving many other problems that rural areas are encountered with and which range from problems such as taxation policy, maximum land holding, and limited imports of cheaper production materials and fertilizers, to the position of these areas in general which include the social, health, and pension insurance of farmers, as well as unsubsidized agricultural production, something that can hardly be found anywhere else in the world. Countries which have no ways to financially support food production and who have abandoned it completely to the market and to the vagaries of weather are very rare today.

Simple Reasoning

Under such conditions, the measure to set the purchase price of wheat at 3,000 dinars has remained a mere isolated and palliative attempt to introduce more order into the food market and at the same time protect the producers who are barely making ends meet. Peasants have been left alone, left to their own devices. When the prices of fuel, farm laborers' work, production materials, pesticides, etc, keep increasing on a daily basis, peasants have no chance of earning anything, not even money for basic survival. Since there are no alternative measures in the sphere of agriculture—and the most radical of them, to reprivatize a section of the inefficient social sector, could have been added to them with a clear conscience—the farmer, who has been using his own hands to till 85 percent of arable land in the country, has remained where he had been before, only on a lower step. He has the misfortune to be this country's only entrepreneur with a clean slate (without debts and losses, including exchange rate losses), and to produce what cannot be done without—food. This is why he is faced with the trouble of representing the first step of a direct struggle against inflation, although he is in fact on the verge of desperation because of his own damned fate within a system with an anti-peasant ideology. In this way, the government has in fact proved that it has always preferred towns to rural areas, workers to peasants, and secondary and tertiary activities to primary ones. The government has failed to spot the anger of peasants who have been the victims of fallacies and communist reductionism for about 40 years, and to consider the possibility of their accumulated anger bursting to the surface. This is where the mistake of its anti-inflation policy lies.

Fault can also be found in intervention supplies from commodity reserves, although the measure fully conforms with efforts to curb prices. Its organizational and technical fiasco and ambiguous anti-inflationary effect primarily result from the failure to look into the scope and meaning of a state intervention in the market. In principle, the state intervenes when there is an imbalance between supply and demand as a result of occasional and unexpected problems and when there is a possibility of disturbing the permanent and, conditionally speaking, fair relations among prices, no matter whether what is involved are goods or money (foreign exchange, for instance). Under the conditions of a permanent imbalance on the market, a large gap between supply and demand, and constant everyday price increases, a single intervention with such a large difference between prices on the market and the prices of the commodities supplied from the reserves (in the case of flour, sugar, and edible oil, that difference was 50

percent), the effect is more destabilizing than calming. The obvious proof was the complete chaos in shops when buyers cursed rather than blessed the government while waiting in line in 30 degrees centigrade heat. The goods that were sent to shops were sold quickly, but it is not known whether they reached the people they were intended for.

To be successful, the intervention of the Federal Executive Council with food from state reserves should be frequent and perfectly organized, and differences in prices between these goods and the ones in the market of approximately 10-15 percent would prevent the uncivilized disorder in the shops. By selling flour or edible oil at half the price set by the economy, the government has made the prices of basic foods attractive to a broad stratum of people, thus joining the melee in the shops seemed worthwhile to everybody. However, had the retail price of edible oil been only 10 percent lower than the market price, many people would agree to remain without their liter of state-provided oil, and only those people who would consider the 10 percent worth the trouble would have gone to the shops. At the same time, the intervention would have had a longer effect, since the goods would not have been sold out the moment they reached the shops, and the anti-inflationary effect of these cheaper goods would probably not have been less. Third, by selling its products at a higher price, the state would have also been able to make a profit, and, with a more consistent scenario, the money could have been recycled and used to subsidize agricultural production.

At the Peasants Expense

Let us make a long story short: The blow the government has dealt to rural regions and peasants has its anti-inflation reason, it is oriented toward sthe market reform, but, at the same time, it is directed against the least favored section of the Yugoslav economy. The introduction of the instruments of market reform requires that, first of all, the conditions of economic operations are made equal for all and that all economic sectors are made equal to each other, private to social sector, foreign to domestic, and therefore agricultural producers to everybody else. In this general madness of prices, when prices increase on a daily basis, it is harmful for peasants and, it seems, even more so for the government to minimize everything that peasants do in a year, that is, to limit the price increase of agricultural products alone.

The tragedy of Ante Markovic's government lies in the fact that its term belongs to a time when there is no economic policy measure which equally hits and benefits everybody, whose effect is leveled out and mitigating. The tragedy is all the more so because the peasants' justifiable discontent is being used in daily politics, and their accumulated suffering taken advantage of by anti-market and antidemocratic mass movements with a view to proving that Markovic's reform is in fact a failure.

The undeserved fate of the present government is that it has been given the role of the conciliator of unreconcilable economic and essentially different political interests and concepts. The trouble also lies in the fact that the government has found itself in the situation in which it is forced to act quickly and directly, and therefore has no time or opportunity to establish the entire complex nature of the economic policy and the complete reform orientation. Although it had honest and clear intentions, the government had to immediately go into the fire of galloping inflation and the arena of contrary opinions about the meaning and essence of the market reform. The government had no time to create a thoroughly worked out and consistent concept of reform in all economic spheres.

Finally, the tragedy of the government's position also lies in the fact that it has a limited and short-range authority, while the motives of the centralist single-nationality movement are ulterior and resolute. The possibility that Markovic, on whom time and the situtions have forced half-baked solutions, will find a way to cohabit with the new system of values is conversely proportionate to the possibility that this essentially anti-reformist bloc of peasants from Vojvodina and Macva gives up its aims. It is improper, even immoral, to wage this stage of the battle for reform, that is, for power, at the expense of the pauperized peasantry which has been thrown to its knees and would be equally mercilessly exploited by the directed and omnipresent care of its present champions.